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Particulars relative to the nature and customs of the Indians in North-America. By Mr. Richard M'Caufland.

IT has been advanced, by several travellers and historians, that the Indians of America differed from other males of the human species, in the want of one very characteristic mark of the sex, a beard. From this general observation, the Esquimaux have been excepted; and hence it has been supposed, that they had an origin different from that of the other natives of America. Inferences have also been drawn, not only with respect to the origin, but even relative to the conformation, of Indians; as if this was, in its nature, more imperfect than that of the rest of mankind.

It appears somewhat singular, that authors, in deducing the origin both of the Esquimaux, and of the other Indians of America, from the old world, should never have explained to us, how the former came to retain their beards, and the latter to lay them aside. To ascertain the authenticity of this point, may, perhaps, prove of little real utility to mankind: but the singularity of the fact certainly claims the attention of the curious; and as it is impossible to fix any limits to the inferences, which may, at one time or another, be drawn from alleged facts, it must always be of consequence to enquire into the authenticity of those facts, how little interesting soever they may at present appear.

I will not by any means take upon me to say, that there are not nations of America, destitute of beards; but ten years' residence at Niagara, in the midst of the Six-Nations (with frequent opportunities of seeing other nations of Indians) has convinced me that they do not differ from the rest of men in this particular, more than one European does from another: and as this imperfection has been attributed to the Indians of North-America, equally with those of the rest

of the continent, I am much inclined to think, that this assertion is as void of foundation in one region, as it is in the other.

All the Indians of North-America (except a very small number, who, from living among white people, have adopted their customs) pluck out the hairs of the beard; and as they begin this from its first appearance, it must naturally be supposed, that, to a superficial observer, their faces will seem smooth and beardless. As further proof that they have beards, we may observe first, that they all have instruments for the purpose of plucking them out: secondly, that when they neglect this for any time, several hairs sprout up, and are seen upon the chin and face: thirdly, that many Indians allow tufts of hair to grow upon their chins or upper lips, resembling those we see in different nations of the old world: fourthly, that several of the Mohocks, Delawares, and others, who live amongst white people, sometimes shave with razors, and sometimes pluck their beards out. These are facts which are notorious amongst the army, Indian traders, &c, and which are never doubted, in that part of the world, by any person in the least conversant with the Indians: but as it is difficult to transport a matter of belief from one country to another distant one, and as the authors, who have maintained the contrary opinion, are too respectable to be doubted on light grounds, I by no means intend to rest the proofs upon what has been said, or upon my single assertion.

I have provided myself with two authorities, which, I apprehend, may in this case be decisive. One is that of colonel Butler, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, well known in the late American war, whose great and extensive influence, amongst the Six-Nations, could not have been acquired, by any thing less, than his long and intimate knowledge of them and their language. The other au-

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thority is that of Thayendanega, commonly known by the name of captain Joseph Brant, a Mohock Indian of great influence, and much spoken of in the late war. He was in England in one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and writes and speaks the English language, with tolerable accuracy. I shall therefore only subjoin their opinions upon this matter, the originals of which I have, under their own signatures.

Colonel BUTLER's.

The men of the Six Nation Indians have all beards naturally, as have all the other nations in North-America, which I have had an opportunity of seeing. Several of the Mohocks shave with razors, as do likewise many of the Panees, who are kept as slaves by the Europeans. But, in general, the Indians pluck out the beard by the roots, from its earliest appearance; and as their faces are therefore smooth, it has been supposed, that they were destitute of beards. I am even of opinion, that if the Indians were to practise shaving from their youth, many of them would have as strong beards, as Europeans.

(Signed) JOHN BUTLER.

Agent of Indian affairs,
Niagara, April 12, 1784.

Captain BRANT's.

The men of the Six Nations have all beards by nature; as have likewise all other Indian nations of North America which I have seen. Some Indians allow a part of the beard upon the chin and upper lip to grow, and a few of the Mohocks shave with razors, in the same manner as Europeans: but the generality pluck out the hairs of the beard by the roots as soon as they begin to appear; and as they continue this practice all their lives, they appear to have no beard, or at most only a few straggling hairs, which they have neglected to pluck out. I am, however, of opinion, that if the Indians were to shave, they would never have beards altogether so thick as the Europeans; and there are some to be met with who have actually very little beard.

(Signed)

JOS. BRANT THAYENDANEGA,
Niagara, April 19, 1784.

Upon this subject I shall only further observe, that it has been supposed by some, that this appearance of beard on Indians arises only from a mixture of European blood; and that an Indian of pure race is entirely destitute of it. But the nations, amongst whom this circumstance can have any influence, bear so small a proportion to the multitude who are unaffected by it, that it cannot by any means be considered as the cause; nor is it looked upon as such, either by capt. Brant or col. Butler.

I shall here subjoin a few particulars, relative to the Indians of the Six-Nations, which seem not to be well understood even in America. My authorities upon this subject, as well as upon the former, are the Indian capt. Brant, and col. Butler.

Each nation is divided into three or more tribes; the principal of which are called the turtle-tribe, the wolf-tribe, and the bear-tribe.

Each tribe has two, three, or more chiefs, called sachems; and this distinction is always hereditary in the family, but descends along the female line: for instance, if a chief dies, one of his sister's sons, or one of his own brothers, will be appointed to succeed him. Among these, no preference is given to proximity or primogeniture; but the sachem, during his lifetime, chooses one, whom he supposes to have more abilities than the rest; and in this choice, he frequently, though not always, consults the principal men of the tribe. If the successor happens to be a child, the offices of the post are performed by some of his friends, until he is of sufficient age to act himself.

Each of these posts of sachem has a name peculiar to it, and which never changes, as it is always adopted by the successor; nor does the order of precedence of each of these names or titles ever vary. Nevertheless, any sachem, by abilities and activity, may acquire greater power and influence in the nation, than those who rank before him in point of precedence; but this is merely temporary, and dies with him.

Each tribe has one or two chief warriors, whose dignity is also hereditary, and has a peculiar name attached to it.

These are the only titles of distinction which are fixed and permanent in the nation; for although any Indian may, by superior talents, either as a counselor or as a warrior, acquire influence in the nation, yet it is not in his power to transmit this to his family.

The Indians have also their great women as well as their great men, to whose opinions they pay great deference; and this distinction is also hereditary in families. They do not sit in council with the sachems, but have separate ones of their own.

When war is declared, the sachems and great women generally give up the management of public affairs into the hands of the warriors. It may however so happen, that a sachem may at the same time be also a chief warrior.

Friendships seem to have been instituted with a view towards strengthening the union between the several nations of the confederacy; and hence friends are called the sinews of the Six-Nations. An Indian has therefore generally one or more friends in each nation. Besides the attachment which subsists during the lifetime of the two friends, whenever one of them happens to be killed, it is incumbent on the survivor to replace him, by presenting to his family either a scalp, a prisoner, or a belt consisting of some thousands of wampum; and this ceremony is performed by every friend of the deceased.

The purpose and foundation of war-parties therefore is, in general, to procure a prisoner or scalp to replace the friend or relation of the Indian who is the head of the party. An Indian who wishes to replace a friend or relation, presents a belt to his acquaintance, and as many as choose to follow him, accept this belt, and become his party. After this, it is of no consequence whether he goes on the expedition or stays at home (as it often happens that he is a child) he is still considered as the head of the party. The belt he presented to his party is returned fixed to the scalp or prisoner, and passes along with them to the friends of the person he replaces. Hence it happens, that a war party, returning with more scalps or prisoners than the original intention of the

party required, will often give one of these supernumerary scalps or prisoners to another war party whom they meet going out; upon which this party, having fulfilled the purpose of their expedition, will sometimes return without going to war. London, 1786.

Extracts of some letters, from Sir William Johnson, bart. to Arthur Lee, M. D. F. R. S. on the customs, manners, and language of the northern Indians of America.

In all enquiries of this sort, we should distinguish between the more remote tribes, and those Indians, who, from their having been next to our settlements for several years, and relying solely on oral tradition, for the support of their ancient usages, have lost great part of them, and have blended some with our customs, so as to render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace their customs to their origin.

The Indians did certainly live under more order and government formerly, than at present. This may seem odd, but it is true; for, their intercourse being with the lower class of our traders, they learn little from us, but our vices; and their long wars, together with the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, have so reduced them, as to render that order, which was first instituted among them, unnecessary and impracticable.

They do not at present use hieroglyphics; their figures being drawn, to the utmost of their skill, to represent the thing intended. For instance, when they go to war, they paint some trees with the figures of warriors, often the exact number of the party; and if they go by water, they delineate a canoe. When they gain a victory, they mark the handle of their tomahawks with human figures, to signify prisoners; and draw the bodies without heads, to express the scalps they have taken. The figures which they affix to deeds, have led some to imagine, that they had alphabetical characters or cyphers. The fact is this; every nation is divided into tribes, of which some have three, as the turtle, bear and wolf; to which some add the snake, deer, &c. Each tribe forms a little community within

the nation ; and as the nation has its peculiar symbol, so has each tribe the particular badge from which it is denominated : and a sachem of each tribe being a necessary party to a fair conveyance, such sachem affixes the mark of his tribe thereto, like the public seal of a corporation. With respect to the deed of 1796, of which you sent me the signatures, the transaction was in some measure of a partial nature. All the nations of the confederacy did not subscribe it ; and those chiefs who did, neglected to pay due regard to their proper symbols ; but signed agreeably to fancy, of which I have seen other instances. The manner I have mentioned is the most authentic, and conformable to their original practice.

As to the information, which, you observe, I formerly transmitted to the governor of New-York, concerning the belt and fifteen bloody sticks sent by the Mississagees, the like is very common ; and they use these sticks, as well to express the alliance of castles, as the number of individuals in a party. The sticks are generally about six inches in length, very slender, and painted red, if the subject be war. Their belts are mostly black wampum, painted red when they denote war. They describe castles sometimes upon them by square figures of white wampum ; and in alliances, human figures holding a chain, which is their emblem of friendship, and each figure represents a nation. An axe is also sometimes described, and always imports war : the taking it up, being a declaration of war ; and the burying it, a token of peace.

With respect to your questions concerning the chief magistrate, or sachem, and how he acquires his authority, &c. I am to acquaint you, that there is, in every nation, a sachem, or chief ; who appears to have some authority over the rest, and it is greatest amongst the most diligent nations. But in most of those bordering on our settlements, his authority is scarcely discernible, as he seldom assumes any power before his people. And indeed this humility is judged the best policy ; for, wanting coercive power, their commands would perhaps occasion assassination, which sometimes happens.

The sachems of each tribe are usually chosen in a public assembly of the chiefs and warriors, whenever a vacancy happens by death, or otherwise : they are generally chosen for their sense and bravery from among the oldest warriors, and approved of by all the tribe ; on which they are saluted sachems. There are, however, several exceptions ; for some families have a kind of inheritance in the office, and are called to this station in their infancy.

The chief sachem, by some called the king, is so either by inheritance, or by a kind of tacit consent, the consequence of his superior abilities and influence. The duration of his authority depends much on his own wisdom, the number and consequence of his relations, and the strength of his particular tribe. But even in those cases where it descends, should the successor appear unequal to the task, some other sachem is sure to possess himself of the power and the duties of the office. I should have observed, that military services are the chief recommendations to this rank. And it appears pretty clearly, that heretofore the chief of a nation had, in some small degree, the authority of a sovereign. This is now the fact among the most remote Indians. But as, since the introduction of fire-arms, they no longer fight in close bodies, but every man is his own general ; I am inclined to think this has contributed to lessen the power of the chief. This chief of a whole nation, has the custody of the belts of wampum, &c. which are as records of public transactions : he prompts the speakers at all treaties, and proposes affairs of consequence. The chief sachems form the grand council ; and those of each tribe often deliberate apart on the affairs of their particular tribes. All their deliberations are conducted with extraordinary regularity and decorum. They never interrupt him who is speaking ; nor use harsh language, whatever may be their thoughts.

The chiefs assume most authority in the field ; but this must be done, even there, with great caution ; as a head warrior thinks himself of most consequence in that place.

The Indians believe in, and are much afraid of, witchcraft : those sus-

pefted of it, are therefore often punished with death. Several nations are equally severe on those guilty of theft, (a crime indeed uncommon among them) : but in cases of murder, the relations are left to take what revenge they please. In general, they are unwilling to inflict capital punishments, as these defeat their grand political object, which is, to increase their numbers by all possible means.

On their hunts, as upon all other occasions, they are strict observers of *meum* and *tuum*, and this from principle, holding theft in contempt ; so that they are rarely guilty of it, though tempted by articles of much value. Neither do they strong attempt to seize the prey of the weak ; and I must do them the justice to say, that, unless heated by liquor, or inflamed by revenge, their ideas of right and wrong, and their practices, in consequence of them, would, if more known, do them much honour. It is true, that, having been often deceived by us, in the purchase of lands, in trade, and other transactions, many of them begin now to act the same part. But this reflects most on those who set them the example.

As to your remark on their apparent repugnance to civilization, I must observe, that this is not owing to any viciousness of their nature, or want of capacity ; as they have a strong genius for arts, and uncommon patience. I believe they are put to the English schools too late, and sent back too soon to their people, whose political maxim, Spartan-like, is to discountenance all pursuits but war, holding all other knowledge as unworthy the dignity of man, and tending to enervate and divert them from that warfare on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend. These sentiments, constantly instilled into the minds of youth, and illustrated by examples drawn from the contemptible state of the domesticated tribes, leave lasting impressions ; and can hardly be defeated by an ordinary school education.

I wish my present leisure would allow me to give you as many specimens of their language as would shew, that, though not very wordy, it is extremely emphatical ; and their style adorned with noble images, strong meta-

phors, and equal in allegory to any of the eastern nations. The article is contained in the noun, by varying the termination ; and the adjective is combined into one word. Thus of *ekin*, a man, and *gawana*, great, is formed *ekhingawana*, a great man. *Gahyung-aw* is a creek, *cahyung-ha*, a river, *cahyung-ha-wana*, a great river ; *cahyung-ha-ha*, a fine river ; *aga* the inhabitants of any place, and *tierkan* the morning ; so, if they speak of eastern people, they say, *tierkan-ag*, or people of the morning. *Ego* is expressive of a great quantity, and *ejegoo* is the superlative. It is curious to observe, that they have various modes of speech, and phrases, peculiar to each age and sex, which they strictly observe. For instance, a man says, when he is hungry, *cadagario*, which is expressive both of his want, and of the animal food he requires to supply it ; whilst a child says, in the same circumstances, *caufore*, that is, I require spoon-meat.

There is so remarkable a difference in the language of the Six Nations from all others, as affords ground for enquiring into their distinct origin. The nations north of the St. Lawrence, those west of the great lakes, with the few who inhabit the sea-coasts of New-England, and those again who live about the Ohio, notwithstanding the respective distances between them, speak a language radically the same, and can in general communicate their wants to one another ; while the Six Nations, who live in the mid of them, are incapable of conveying a single idea to their neighbours, nor can they pronounce a word of their language with correctness. The letters *M* and *P*, which occur frequently in the other languages, are not in theirs : nor can they pronounce them but with the utmost difficulty. There is indeed some difference of dialect among the Six Nations themselves ; but this is little more than what is found in all the European States.

1772.

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Observations on the language of the Mukhekanew Indians : in which the extent of that language, in North America, is shown ; its genus is grammatically traced : some of its peculiarities, and some inflex-

ces of analogy, between that and the Hebrew, are pointed out.

Communicated to the Connecticut society of arts and sciences, and published at the request of the society. By Jonathan Edwards, D. D. pastor of a church in Newhaven, and member of the Connecticut society of arts and sciences.

P R E F A C E.

THAT the following observations may obtain credit, it may be proper to inform the reader, with what advantages they have been made.

When I was but six years of age, my father removed, with his family, to Stockbridge, which, at that time, was inhabited almost solely by Indians; as there were in the town but twelve families of whites or Anglo-Americans, and perhaps one hundred and fifty families of Indians. The Indians being the nearest neighbours, I constantly associated with them; their boys were my daily school-mates and play-fellows. Out of my father's house, I seldom heard any language spoken, except the Indian. By these means, I acquired the knowledge of that language, and a great facility in speaking it. It became more familiar to me, than my mother tongue. I knew the names of some things in Indian, which I did not know in English; even all my thoughts ran in Indian; and, though the true pronunciation of the language is extremely difficult to all but the Indians themselves, they acknowledged, that I had acquired it perfectly; which, as they said, never had been acquired before by any Anglo-American. On account of this acquisition, as well as on account of my skill in their language in general, I received from them many compliments, applauding my superior wisdom. This skill in their language, I have, in a good measure, retained to this day.

After I had drawn up these observations, lest there should be any mistakes in them, I carried them to Stockbridge, and read them to Capt. Yoghun, a principal Indian of the tribe, who is well versed in his own language, and tolerably informed concerning the English: and I availed myself of his remarks and corrections.

From these facts, the reader will form his own opinion of the truth and

accuracy of what is now offered him.

When I was in my tenth year, my father sent me among the Six Nations, with a design that I should learn their language, and thus become qualified to be a missionary among them. But on account of the war with France, which then existed, I continued among them but about six months. Therefore the knowledge, which I acquired of that language, was but imperfect, and at this time I retain so little of it, that I will not hazard any particular critical remarks on it. I may observe, however, that though the words of the two languages are totally different, yet their structure is, in some respects, analogous, particularly in the use of prefixes and suffixes.

THE language, which is now the subject of observation, is that of the Muhhekanew or Stockbridge Indians. They, as well as the tribe at New London, are, by the Anglo-Americans, called Mohegans, which is a corruption of Muhhekanew*, in the singular, or Muhhekanok, in the plural. This language is spoken by all the Indians throughout New England. Every tribe, as that of Stockbridge, that of Farmington, that of New London, &c. has a different dialect; but the language is radically the same. Mr. Elliot's translation of the bible is in a particular dialect of this language. The dialect, followed in these observations, is that of Stockbridge. This language appears to be much more extensive, than any other language in North America. The languages of the Delawares, in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots, bordering on Nova Scotia, of the Indians of St. Francis in Canada, of the Shawanees on the Ohio, and of the Chippewaus to the westward of lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan. The same is said concerning the languages of the Ottowaus, Nanticooks, Munsees, Menomonees, Mellefaugas, Saukies, Ottagaumies, Killistinoes, Nipecognys, Alkonkins, Winnebagoes, &c. That the languages of the several tribes in New England, of the Delawares, and of Mr. Elliot's bible,

NOTE.

* Wherever *w* occurs in an Indian word, it is pronounced as in *work*, *world*, &c.

are radically the same with the Mohegan, I assert from my own knowledge. What I assert concerning the language of the Penobscots, I have from a gentleman in Massachusetts, who has been much conversant among the Indians. That the languages of the Shawanees and Chippewa is radically the same with the Mohegan, I shall endeavour to shew. My authorities, for what I say of the languages of the other nations, are Captain Youghum, before mentioned, and Carter's travels.

To illustrate the analogy between the Mohegan, the Shawanee, and the Chippewau languages, I shall exhibit a short list of words of those three languages. For the list of Mohegan words, I myself am accountable. That of the Shawanee words was communicated to me by General Parsons, who has had opportunity to make a partial vocabulary of that language. For the words of the Chippewau language, I am dependent on Carver's travels.

Ver's travels.	Mohegan.	Shawancee.
English.	Mquoh	Mauquah
A bear	Amisque*	Amaquah
A beaver	Hikeesique	Skeefacoo
Eye	Towohque	Towacah
Ear	Pautoh	Peatoloo
Fetch	Nemoghhome†	Nemasompethau
My grandfather	Nohhun	Nocumthau
My grandmother	Naughes	Noofshethau
My grandchild	Pumilloo	Pomthaloo
He goes	Peefquafoo	Squauthauthau
A girl	Weekumuhim	Weecuah
House	Uwoh	Welah
He (that man)	Weenhs	Weefeh (I imagine mi- spelt, for weeafeh.)
His head		Otaheh
His heart	Utoh	Welathoh
Hair	Weghaukun	Wasecheh
Her husband	Waughchech	Wepeetalee
His teeth	Wepetoon	Neauweh
I thank you	Wneeweh	Neefeethau
My uncle	Nfees	Nelah
I	Neah	Kelah
Thou	Keah	Nelauweh
We	Neaunuh	Kelauweh
Ye	Keauwuh	Nippee
Water	Nbey	Nemeethau
Elder sister	Nimees	Thepee
River	Sepoo	

The following is a specimen of the analogy between the Mohegan and Chippewa languages.

English.	Mohegan.	Chippewa.
A bear	Mquoh	Mackwah
A beaver	Amisque	Amik
To die (I die)	Nip	Nip
Dead (he is dead)	Nboo or neboot	Neepoo
Devil	Mtandou, or mannito	Mamitou
Dress the kettle (make a fire)	Pootouwah	Poutwah

NOTES.

* *e* final is never sounded in any Indian word; which I write, except monosyllables.

* 'gh in any Indian word has the strong guttural sound, which is given by the Scots to the same letters in the words *tough*, *enough*, &c.

† The first syllable scarcely sounded.

The last of these words properly signifies a species, or any thing frightful.

English.	Mohegan.	Chippewau.
His eyes.	Ukeesquan	Wiskinkhie
Fire	Stauw	Scunta
Give it him	Meenuh	Millaw
A spirit (a spectre)	Mannito	Manitou
How	Tuneh*	Tawnè
House.	Weekumuhm	Wigwaum
An impostor (he is an im- postor, or bad man)	Mtisloo	Mawlawtissie
Co	Pumfisch	Pimmousie
Marry.	Weeween	Weewin
Good for nought	Mtit	Malarat
River	Sepoo	Sippim
Shoe	Mkissin	Maukissin
The sun	Keesogh	Kiffis
Sit down	Mattipeh	Minitipin
Water	Nbey	Nebbi
Where	Tehah	Tah
Winter	Hpoon	Pepoun
Wood	Metoogue	Mitic

Almost every man who writes Indian words, spells them in a peculiar manner: and I dare say, if the same person had taken down all the words above, from the mouths of the Indians, he would have spelt them more alike, and the coincidence would have appeared more striking. Most of those, who write and print Indian words, use the letter *a* where the sound is that of *ah* or *au*. Hence the reader will observe, that, in some of the Mohegan words above, *o* or *oh* is used, when *a* or *ah* is used in the correspondent words of the other languages; as *Mquoh*, *Mauquah*. I doubt not, the sound of those two syllables is exactly the same, as pronounced by the Indians of the different tribes.

It is not to be supposed, that the like coincidence is extended to all the words of those languages. Very many words are totally different. Still the analogy is such, as is sufficient to shew, that they are mere dialects of the same original language.

I could not throughout, give words of the same signification in the three languages; as the two vocabularies, from which I extracted the Shawanee and Chippewau words, did not con-

NOTE.

* Wherever *u* occurs, it has not the long sound of the English *u* as in *commune*; but the sound of *u* in *uncle*, though much protracted. The other vowels are to be pronounced, as in English.

tain words of the same signification, excepting in some instances.

The Mohauk, which is the language of the six nations, is entirely different from that of the Mohegans. There is no more appearance of a derivation of one of these last mentioned languages from the other, than there is of a derivation of either of them from the English. One obvious diversity, and in which the Mohauk is perhaps different from any other language, is, that it is wholly destitute of labials: whereas the Mohegan abounds with them. I shall here give the numerals, as far as ten, and the *pater noster*, in both languages.

Mohegan	Mohauk
Ngwittoh	Ufskot
Neesoh	Teggench
Noghhoh	Ohs
Nauwoh	Kialeh
Nunon	Wisk
Ngwittus	Yoiyok
Tupouwus	Chautok
Ghufooh	Sottago
Nauneweh	Teuhtoh
Mtannit	Wialeh

The *pater noster* in the Mohegan language, is as follows;

Nognuh, ne spummuck oieon, taugh mauweh wneh wtukofeank ne-anne annuwoieon. Taugh ne aunchuwutamunun wawehutseek maweh noh pummeh. Ne annoihiteech mauweh awauneek noh hkey oiecheek, ne aunchuwutamun, ne annoihiteech neek spummuk oiecheek. Menenaunuh noonooh wuhkamauk tquogh nuh uh-huyutamauk ngummauweh. Ohquata-

moiwenaunuh auneh mumachoieaukeh
ne anneh ohquintamouwoieauk num-
peh neek mumacheh annehoquaukeek.
Cheen hquinkquaucheh siukeh annehe-
henaunuh. Panneeweh htouwenaunuh
neeh maumtehkeh. Keah ng-
wecheh kwiouwauweh mauweh noh
pumteh; ktawoi; estah awaun w-
tinnoiyuwun ne aunoieyon; hanwee-
weh ne kiinnoie. Amen.

The *pater noster*, in the language
of the Six Nations, taken from Smith's
history of New York, is this;

Soungwauneha caurounkiyawga teh-
feetaroan sauhfoneyousta esa sawa-
neyou okeitauhfela ehneauwoung na
caurounkiyawga nughwonshauga neate-
wehnefalaunga taugwaunautoronoant-
oughfick roantaugweleehwheyoustaung
thenceyeut chaquataulehwheyoustaun-
na toughsou taugwaussarenh tawau-
tottenaugalouhtoungga nafawne fa-
cheautaugwals coantehfalohaunzaic-
kaw esa fawauneyou esa fashoutza esa
foungwaisoung chenneauhaungwa; au-
wen.

The reader will observe, that there
is not a single labial either in the nu-
merals or *pater noster* of this language;
and that, when they come to amen,
from an aversion to shutting the lips,
they change the m to w.

In no part of these languages, does
there appear to be a greater coinci-
dence, than in this specimen. I have
never noticed one word in either of
them, which has any analogy to the
correspondent word in the other lan-
guage.

Concerning the Mohegan language,
it is observable that there is no diversity
of gender, either in nouns or pronouns.
The very same words express he and
she, him and her. Hence, when the
Mohegans speak English, they gener-
ally in this respect, follow strictly their
own idiom; a man will say concerning
his wife, he sick, he gone away, &c.

With regard to cases, they have
but one variation from the nominative,
which is formed by the addition
of the syllable an, as *wnechun*, his
child, *wneckunan*. This variation
seems to suit indifferently any case,
except the nominative.

The plural is formed, by adding a
letter or syllable to the singular; as
nemannauh, a man, *nemannaauh*, men;
penumpaeseo, a boy, *penumpaeseout*
boys.

VOL. V. No. I.

The Mohegans more carefully dis-
tinguish the natural relations of men
to each other, than we do, or perhaps
any other nation. They have one
word to express an elder brother, *ne-
tohcon*; another to express a younger
brother, *ngheesum*. One to express
an elder sister, *nmaste*; another to ex-
press a younger sister, *ngheesum*. But
the word for younger brother and
younger sister, is the same, — *nsafe* is
my uncle by my mother's side; *nu-
chehque* is my uncle by my father's
side.

The Mohegans have no adjectives
in all their language; unless we reck-
on numerals, and such words as, all,
many, &c. adjectives. Of adjectives,
which express the qualities of substances,
I do not find that they have any.
They express those qualities by verbs
neuter; as *wnifoo*, he is beautiful;
mtifoo, he is homely; *pehtunguifoo*
he is tall; *nsconmoo*, he is malicious,
&c. Thus in Latin many qualities
are expressed by verbs neuter, as *va-
leo*, *caleo*, *frigeo*, &c. Although it
may, at first, seem not only singular,
and curious, but impossible, that a
language should exist without adjectives;
yet it is an indubitable fact.
Nor do they seem to suffer any incon-
venience by it; since they as readily
express any quality by a neuter verb,
as we do by an adjective.

(To be continued.)

Extract of a letter from dr. Eliza J.
Hall, to the president of the Balti-
more medical society, on the ineffi-
cacy of passing a law for the regulati-
on of the practice of medicine.

THE importance of the business
now before us demands our most
serious attention and united exertions.
We are now deliberating on a plan
to be laid before the legislature of this
state, for the future government of
ourselves, and for the benefit of the
public in general. If we should be
so fortunate as to agree upon any partic-
ular system, founded on liberal and
extensive principles, there is no doubt
but that the respectability of the names
of the gentlemen who form this soci-
ety, will add dignity to any system to
which their approbation may be given.

The various ill consequences which
flow from an indiscriminate admission
of men into the practice of physic is

this state, are obvious to every person, and shew the necessity of the interposition of the legislature to prescribe some regulation to remedy this evil.

Several of our sister states have passed laws of this nature, and receive manifest advantage therefrom. The state of New York, the state of New Jersey, and Delaware, act as worthy examples, and their citizens now enjoy all those heartfelt sensations that arise from a conscious security in the integrity and professional abilities of their family physicians.

It now only remains with us to adjust some plan, by which the citizens of Maryland may derive similar advantages, from a regulation of this nature.

Sir, you must remember, that at our meeting this evening, there were gentlemen, who objected to a law that would operate in any measure upon ourselves, and those who are, at present, in the practice of physic in this state—offering as reasons in support of their opinions, that such a law would be an infringement on the rights of them, as citizens.

I am sorry that there are gentlemen who will express thoughts so destructive of, and inconsistent with, reason, with justice, and with the declared principles which actuated us to convene on this day.

The objects now before us, I conceive, are two—first to remedy an evil existing at present in society, in general—and secondly, to place the medical faculty, in particular, upon a more respectable footing. I conceive if the legislature was to take up this business upon a partial ground, and pass a law prescribing the qualifications of those who may practise physic in future, in this state, and not extending to those already in business, I say such regulation would be subversive of the object now before us, and would have a direct tendency to rivet the evil in society, for a number of years, which is the declared object of this society to remove, and under which the community at present suffers the severest scourge. Those men, whose unworthiness renders such a law necessary at present, feel their infirmity in some degree to gentlemen of established and known abilities in their profession, and the public is benefited in propor-

tion to the degree of reserve and restraint under which these pretenders to medical science labour. But after the passing a law of this nature, all restraint is taken off them.

The man, who has spent years of his time in pursuit of medical knowledge, and perhaps exhausted his constitution and purse in the struggle, is now placed upon the same footing with the most ignorant pretender. The man who has spent years of his life in acts of benevolence to his fellow-creatures, and [who has been] crowned with medical laurels for distinguished acts of ability in his profession, is placed on a level with the most selfish, inhuman, and ignorant empirics.

In short, the most learned physician, and the most accomplished quack, are placed upon the same theatre, entitled to the same advantages—there to take their respective directions—there to act as they please—to kill and to save would be attributed as much to the one as to the other. Each acting under the sanction of the law, neither can be controlled; but each meeting the censure of mankind—each character is blended in one, and each branded as the robber of the people, and as the murderer of his fellow-creatures! I confess that I do not aspire to so dignified a situation. I confess I do not wish a law tending to this end—but I would rather declare eternal war with the quacks, and listen to the cold voice of the people, who, at present, consider they confer a favour upon us, when we are asked to attend them—and make the best bargain with those I am concerned with, than give my approbation to a law so immediately productive of an increase of all the evils under which the society suffers, and we are disgraced at present. The science of medicine has degenerated too much already. Instead of being studied methodically, and practised as a science—it is now too often taken up as a contemptible art, and practised as a species of traffic.

There cannot be a man of respectability in his profession, who would object to a law operating upon him, when he is conscious that such a regulation would be the means of preventing a number of unworthy characters

practising physic, to the disgrace of the science, and to the destruction of the lives of numbers of his fellow-creatures. But, on the contrary, he must be happy in having that distinction, which will separate him from the ignorant, and afford the community that criterion of medical merit, so essential to the happiness and safety of society: and as to the fears of those unworthy characters, whose ignorance renders such a law necessary, they are not deserving of notice. Instead of exciting compassion, they justly deserve our contempt. Instead of meeting with lenity from the legislature, their inhuman conduct merits the severest punishment that our penal law annexes to the worst of crimes. Every friend of humanity must rejoice to lend his aid in support of a plan replete with so much importance to society.

No doubt, there will be men who will object to a law which will extend to those now in the practice of physic: and their numbers will be proportioned to the evil at present complained of. Those men, whose unworthiness forms the necessity of such a regulation, will be the most clamorous in opposition to the law. Conscious of their inability to pass an examination before men of integrity and professional abilities, they will view such a regulation, though founded in justice and universal benevolence, as the approach of a death warrant. Ashamed of their past conduct in their profession—alive to the reproachful inferences of ignorance and inhumanity, manifested even to their consciences by the event, and made notorious to all around them by the premature deaths and incurable diseases entailed upon their fellow-citizens, from hence they tremble at their situation! Conscious of their past conduct—convinced of their present ignorance—any test of integrity or professional merit, will operate as a dagger to their hearts.

Thus situated as we are—thus surrounded by such swarms of quacks in medicine, we must expect opposition from such men as these. But it is the business of reason—it is the business of justice, in a legislative capacity, to form civil chains for such creatures, proportionably strong to the exertions of those enemies to the peace and safety of society. [Remainder in our next.]

Account of the nervous system.

THAT part of the human body, called the nervous system, consists, first, of a large pulpy mass called the brain, which fills the cavity of the skull; and in a man is larger, in proportion to the body, than in any other animal.

The brain itself appears such a gross, inert mass of matter, that, perhaps, there is no organ of the human body that we should have less suspected of being connected with thought. But, although we can form no idea how this connection subsists, or by what means the nerves are the organs of sensation and motion, yet we cannot have any doubt of their being both. The circumstances which lead us to this opinion, and confirm us in it, are curious in themselves; and the knowledge of them is useful in the practice of medicine. We are led to conclude that the brain is the seat of thought,

First, from a feeling, we all have, that imagination, memory, judgment, and all the faculties of the mind, are exercised within the head; the cavity of which is completely filled with brain.

Secondly, because a long exertion of thought is apt to create a head-ach, as an excessive exertion of the arms or legs is, to produce uneasiness in those members.

Thirdly, because the nerves, which serve four of our five senses,—the smell, the taste, the sight, and the hearing—take their origin directly from the brain; and those which do not, take it indirectly, by the intervention of the spinal marrow.

Fourthly, because whatever destroys the nerves belonging to any organ, effectually deprives us of the use of that organ. An obstruction in the optic nerve, for example, produces complete blindness, although the visible parts of the eyes remain perfectly sound.

Finding that, when the nerves going from the brain or spinal marrow to any part of the body, are destroyed, the sensation and powers of that part are also destroyed; we might naturally infer, that, when the substance of the brain itself is injured, its function would be impaired. And this, in fact, is the case; for the functions of the

brain are impaired in proportion to the injury.

A wound, or disease, which essentially destroys the organization of the brain, immediately destroys thought and sensation; the person instantly dies. Whatever confines or injures the brain, destroys thought.

A blow on the head has rendered a man of great acuteness stupid during the remainder of his life.

A bad conformation of the skull, or some disease in the substance of the brain, are among the causes of idiots. The brains of madmen are generally found of an unnatural hardness or weight.

A small pressure of the brain diminishes, a stronger destroys, the sensibility of the whole body.

There was, some years since, a beggar at Paris, part of whose skull had been removed, without injuring the brain, in consequence of a wound. This being healed, he wore a plate upon the part where the skull was wanting, to prevent the brain from being hurt by every accidental touch. For a small piece of money this poor creature took off the plate, and allowed the brain to be gently pressed, by laying a handkerchief, or some such soft substance upon it: this immediately occasioned dimness of sight and drowsiness: the pressure being somewhat augmented, he became quite insensible, with high breathing, and every symptom of a person in an apoplexy; from which state he never failed soon to recover, upon the pressure being removed. As this experiment was attended with no pain, it was often repeated, and always with the same effect.

Account of an extraordinary disease among the Indians, in the island of Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, in New England. In a letter from Andrew Oliver, esq. to Israel Mauduit, esq. F. R. S.

ABOUT the beginning of August 1763, when the sickness began at Nantucket, the whole number of Indians belonging to that island, was 258: of these, 258 had the distemper betwixt that time and the 20th of February following, 36 only of whom

recovered; of the 100, who escaped the distemper, 34 were conserverant with the sick, 8 dwelt separate, 18 were at sea, and 40 lived in English families. The physician informs me, that the blood and juices appeared to be highly putrid, and that the disease was attended with a violent inflammatory fever, which carried them off in about five days. The season was uncommonly moist and cold, and the distemper began originally among them; but having once made its appearance, seems to have been propagated by contagion; although some escaped it, who were exposed to the infection.

The distemper made its appearance at Martha's Vineyard, the beginning of December, 1763. It went through every family, into which it came, not one escaping it; 52 Indians had it, 39 of whom died; those who recovered, were chiefly of the younger sort.

The appearance of the distemper was much the same in both these islands; it carried them off in each, in five or six days. What is still more remarkable than even the great mortality of the distemper, is, that not one English person had it in either of the islands, although the English greatly exceed in numbers: and that some persons in one family, who were of a mixt breed, half Dutch and half Indian, and one in another family, half Indian and half Negro, had the distemper, and all recovered; and that no person at all died of it, but such as were entirely of Indian blood. From hence, it was called the Indian sickness.

There had been a great scarcity of corn among the Indians, the preceding winter; this, together with the cold, moist season, has been aligned by some, as the causes of the distemper among them. These circumstances, it is true, may have disposed them to a morbid habit, but do not account for its peculiarity to the Indians: the English breathed the same air, and suffered, in some measure, by the scarcity, with the Indians; they yet escaped the sickness. I do not say, therefore, but that the *sudor Anglicus*, which heretofore affected the English only, and this late Indian sickness, must be clasped together among the arcana of providence.

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Observations, anatomical, physiological, and pathological on the absorbent tubes of animal bodies.

By Samuel Latham Mitchell, M. D.

THAT system of vessels, which in animals performs the work of absorption, arising by numerous minute orifices from the internal and external surfaces of their bodies, has been repeatedly the subject of disquisition and enquiry. Monro, Hewson, Hunter, Sheldon, Cruikshank, Mascagni, and others, by numerous experiments upon dead as well as living subjects, have ascertained, that such vessels exist not only in man, but in quadrupeds, birds, serpents, fishes, and worms. In all the creatures, where such tubes have been found, their use and intentions seem to be the same; the lacteals to convey the chyle from the intestinal canal to the thoracic duct, and the lymphatics to transmit to the same place, that various matter which they imbibe on the other several surfaces of the body.

But, although many facts are known, respecting them, still there remains something to be said concerning their structure and functions.

It has ever been confessed that their mouths in the larger animals, are too small to be discerned and examined with anatomical accuracy, and therefore their physiology and pathology have in many respects been shadowed with all the obscurity of guess and conjecture. In this situation of affairs, it will, I hope, be allowable to try what information can be derived from comparative anatomy, and to view the truth by the light which analogy affords. If the axioms, for the study of nature, in the material inanimate world, be also applicable to the varied modes of life and organization, then may it be said, "that effects of the same kind may be ascribed to the same causes; and the qualities of phenomena, discovered by experiments, may be considered as universal qualities of phenomena of the same kind," in these cases as well as in others; thus, if the function of respiration is reasonably believed to be subservient to the same general purpose in all breathing animals, then the discovery of the nature of that process in one creature, will

afford us an easy application of the same to each. In like manner, may we be permitted to reason about absorption, and apply the facts found in one class of animals, to explain corresponding appearances in another.

In several kinds of animals, the mouths of the absorbent vessels can be seen with the naked eye, in a living, moving, and irritable state. There is a species of holothuria, which I caught upon the Atlantic ocean, that has absorbent tubes, so evident on its surface, that I could discern them very plainly, without the aid of magnifying glasses. Several species of actinia that I have examined both in Europe and America, have such tubes, so plain, when in an expanded state, that no person, who carefully examines, can ever fail to see them. Several of the medusas are furnished with long pendulous strings, which, when narrowly inspected, prove to be bulbous tubes, for the purpose of inhalation. And more plainly still, some species of anemones have these papillous vessels, so large and long, that they must necessarily strike forcibly the attention of every careful inspector. The vessels of the anemone rubens, I have in a more particular manner examined, and find them to be composed of an external layer of circular muscular fibres, covering an interior coat of longitudinal ones; and to have at the extremity, a thicker and larger assemblage of orbicular fibres, connected with the former, and somewhat resembling the constrictor oris in man. They have the capacity to be lengthened and shortened at pleasure, and to move themselves in any direction. It possesses the power of applying these mouths to any solid body, and of adhering to it with considerable firmness, insomuch as to elevate small gravel and sand. Through them is conveyed all its food, for which it is in perpetual motion, groping about to all things within reach; and by these have I often seen oysters and scallops killed and devoured. Each of these tubes may be in some respects compared to the trunk of an elephant, being, like it, flexible, long, and tenacious of whatever is grasped by its sphincter, which is capable of greater or less contraction, as occasion requires. The structure of these vessels, in the other

animals, though not quite so evident, appears to be just the same, and their manner of action exactly similar; but of this I cannot be altogether so positive, on account of the smallness of size and irritability in some of them, not permitting me to investigate the particulars with such accurate minuteness; but howsoever this may be, there is no doubt that these functions are quite alike.

Since now it is shewn, that in four species of animals, such are the structure and functions of the absorbent vessels, it will be proved, in these cases, that absorption is not performed by capillary attraction, as has been commonly said, but by a real living power and muscular energy.

If next we may be allowed to reason analogically from those facts, to the larger and more perfect kind of animals, we shall find a ready solution to a number of others, inexplicable upon any known principle. We can explain how hard and solid substances can be taken up within them, and removed; how muscular, vacular, cellular, and ossaceous matters are abraded by the continual action of these open-mouthed vessels and carried away; how partial shrinking happens in palpies, and universal consumption in old age; how farcitosis may be produced by a gnawing of the bony substance near their greedy mouths; how the teliciles may be diminished by a vicious action of the absorbents there; how the thymus, capsule atrabilaria, and membrana pupillaris are gradually removed by their natural agency; how dislocated humeri and femora can form for themselves, new acetabula on the ribs or osa innominata, if not reduced; with many more facts long since well known and established, but never explained, such as the absorption of mercury, &c. through the skin of any part of the body.

Thus, upon the conviction that absorption in man is performed in the same manner, as in the creatures enumerated, and granting that the active mouths of the tubes can suck, absorb, imbibe, corrode, gnaw, tear off, wear away or inhale the various substances in their vicinity, we can assign a sufficient reason for phenomena otherwise impossible to be explained.

In all these instances, it may be noted, that the absorbent mouths of tubes are not breathing-places, and that therefore the manner of taking in the substances which they convey, must be different from the method that man and quadrupeds use when they suck or drink, by forming a vacuum within, and causing the weighty atmosphere to force up the external liquor to fill it; but the way in cases of absorption must be, that the orifice of the vessel, by some means stimulated to action, feels, gropes, and searches about for something to seize, which it divides, breaks off, or rends asunder by the force and power of the sphincter muscle, in fragments or portions adapted to its capacity, and then, by the aid of the circular and longitudinal fibres, transmits through its whole extent.

There is another fact, very favourable to this argument, which, on account of its daily occurrence, I wonder has been overlooked so long; common flies have a rostrum that can be variably moved, and whose extremity has a sphincter so evident, that it may be seen to dilate and contract, whenever the insect is in quest of food; fluids and solids may be seen to enter it, and whenever a solid body is grasped, that is too large for conveyance, the creature lets it drop, and seeks a smaller morsel: this rostrum then is truly an absorbent tube, and the performance of the same function, in a like manner by mosquitoes, gnats, and some other insects, forms a copious induction for the establishment of our opinion.

It would be an easy task to shew, that capillary attraction is in more cases than these enumerated, not the cause of absorption; or, even if we grant, for argument's sake, that it is the cause, we shall find it inadequate to the explanation of many phenomena: for by what modification of that process can earths, bones, and metals, be made to rise in the tubes like fluids? But if the account delivered here be true, why should I prolong my writing, by a refutation of hypotheses and conjectures?

I shall only add, in corroboration of what has been already observed, the discovery of calcareous earth in

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the thoracic duct, of madder in the bones, and of iron in the blood, all existing, *propriā formā*; which being solids, totally subvert the doctrine of capillary attraction, and receive a reasonable and easy solution by the theory here delivered.



Observations on worms in the human body, and of the virtues of the Carolina pink-root, as a vermicifuge.

NOTHING has been more frequently fatal to the lives of children than worms. This fatality has been much lamented, and much industry has been exercised to investigate means which might prevent it. But hitherto the *desideratum* has eluded the most diligent researches; and many of the faculty are unhappily ignorant of remedies which are sure to afford relief. Most of the British authors, by whom American practitioners have been governed and directed, are, to the surprise of the unprejudiced observer, singularly deficient in useful prescriptions. Bitter, sweet, saline, and fetid medicines have, by them lately and formerly, been much recommended and applauded, as preventatives, palliatives, and repellents. These medicines, however, do not by any means answer their encomiums. I have known certain families use the belt stomachic bitters, as preventatives, with the best judgment, but without any success. I have seen the belt saline, sweet, and fetid mixtures, administered, to check vomiting, and repel worms from the stomach into the intestines, with no kind of advantage. From many observations of this nature, I am induced to believe, that no bitter medicines, hitherto recommended for the prevention of worms, answer this end, otherwise than as they may, in particular cases, restore or maintain the common state of health, independent of worms; and that all fetid, saline, and sweet mixtures, are no farther salutary, than as they happen to fill the stomach, and be retained by accidental agreement with the particular idiosyncrasy of the patient. After bitters, &c. enumerated, the principal medicine among British authors, for the destruction of worms, has been mercury. Many preparations of this article have been particu-

larly recommended, as *Mere. d. cor-
rof. Ethiops minor. &c.* From the most attentive and thorough trials with each of these preparations, and others, I am sure it may be justly asserted, that mercury is in no form an efficacious vermicifuge; and in no case of this nature, equal to many other mild, simple, and safe cathartics. I have administered it in small and large portions, to no valuable purpose, and seen the patient discharge living worms, six days after its operation. Hence I have entirely discarded it, as a vermicifuge; and now consider it as a very improper and dangerous medicine, when administered with such design. Perhaps some may say, that my experiments have been imperfect, my observations fallacious, and my conclusions consequently unjust; that mercury cuts worms in pieces, and discharges them undistinguishably with natural excrements. That mercury has this effect, is false; though very commonly asserted by some physicians, and believed by many. To such as know any thing of philosophy, no reason can be assigned for the support of this assertion; to those of a different character, arguments are generally of little value. Tin, lead, iron, and copper, have also been recommended for the destruction of worms; but are very far from answering such recommendations, with any safety to the general health of the body; and many patients have been lost and destroyed, through implicit confidence in them.

Happily for mankind, truth is often discovered by accident, after philosophy has laboured for it in vain.

The Carolina pink is a safe and infallible vermicifuge, and, I believe, would prevent nine tenths of the deaths occasioned by worms, if properly administered. In the last year, I had forty-two worm cases, in every one of which the Carolina pink proved effectually salutary; worms were discharged in each case; and every patient was restored to perfect health.

Many physicians are already sensible of the wonderful efficacy of this most excellent medicine, and nothing that can be said in favour of it will be new to them; others, however, believe it to be of little or no value; and some even think it injurious and

dangerous. For the consideration of such as are thus incredulous of its true virtues, I beg leave to assert, that I have never seen a single ill effect from it, in the course of a very considerable practice for a number of years; nor do I believe it has a tendency to excite inflammation or lethargy to any considerable degree. That it is superlatively powerful in removing worms, any person may be satisfied, by exhibiting it to children in health. After such exhibition, if there are not more or less worms discharged, in nine cases out of ten, I am willing the medicine should be considered of no value.

The best form in which it may be exhibited, is not yet determined, among those who are sensible of its efficacy:—the necessary quantity is also a matter of some dispute. To be satisfied in these points, I have given it in small and large portions; I have given the simple root in powder alone, and the same in conjunction with *atoes*, *rhaei* and *Aethiops* mineral; I have given the root alone, by infusion, and by the same way the root and top together; I have also added to such infusions, *rhaei*, *senna*, *manna*, and salts. From the issue of repeated trials in all these forms, I am of opinion, that the simple root, by infusion, is the best and most infallible form, in which it can be administered, and that no sugar, molasses, or *manna* is requisite to be joined, unless it be barely to render the medicine more palatable to the patient. Two drams, strongly infused in half a pint of water, will never be too much for a child two or three years old. Such as are five, six, or seven years of age, will generally require of the root and water, a double quantity, and perhaps more. I believe it is most usefully taken in the space of one hour, or less, if the stomach can retain it. The same quantity may be daily repeated with perfect safety, two, three, or four times, if any vermisfuge be necessarily indicated. But if not thus indicated, it will be most convenient, that the patient be purged with *senna*, *rhubarb*, *manna*, &c. with a strict attention to such diet as will be requisite to preserve the bowels from irritation and inflammation, which are always in some degree, the conse-

quence of a paroxysm of worms. For this purpose, an abdominal lotus is also of much benefit. When the pink is in operation, emollient glysters ought to be frequently repeated.

How this medicine operates to the destruction of worms, is to me as yet among the *desiderata*: and what are the properties by which its effects are produced, I cannot tell: nor am I much ashamed of this ignorance, since I believe that no botanist, unacquainted with its effects, would have any suspicion of them from its sensible qualities. Some have supposed it no other way a vermisfuge, than by the common properties of cathartics. But this cannot be true: as no other cathartic will have the same effects. Some have supposed it a kind of lethargic poison, of which the vermin frequently recover, after a certain period; and for the support of this opinion, have asserted, that the worms have been generally found motionless, at their first appearance, and afterwards became active; and hence they have advised the pink to be administered in conjunction with *fenna*, or other brisk cathartics. As this practice has not been found so successful, as the use of the simple pink alone, so the data on which it is fixed, cannot be fully admitted.

How far this pink may be serviceable in other complaints of the human body, is not, perhaps, as yet known. It is however, such an excellent remedy against worms, that no family, where there are children, ought to be without it. All children, suspected of worms, may take a potion once in a month or two, followed with any common purge; and thus be relieved from danger.

J. L.

Newhaven, March, 1787.

It is highly probable that four or five ounces of pink root, infused in two or three quarts of water, might be more serviceable in destroying grubbs and bois in horses, than any thing known among farriers.

The resolution of the high court of errors and appeals of the state of Pennsylvania, in the case of *Silas Talbot, quia tam, &c.* against the commanders and owners of the

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brigs, *Achilles, Patty, and Hibernia*; *January 14th, 1785.*

THIS cause was of great consequence, not only on account of the property depending on its decision, but because the following questions were determined upon solemn argument: First, that the owners of letters of marque are responsible for injuries committed on the high seas, by the commanders of vessels sent out by them, at least, to the value of the vessels. Secondly, that in cases of capture from enemies, persons in other vessels acquire no right, merely by seeing the capture made. Thirdly, that the judge of admiralty for this state may legally take cognizance in cases similar to this. Fourthly, that the appeal in such cases to the high court of errors and appeals for this state, is regular.*

C A S E.

SILAS TALBOT, commander of the armed sloop, *Argo*, belonging to, and in the service of these states, duly commissioned, sailed from New London, in the state of Connecticut, the twenty ninth of August, 1779, on a cruise. On the sixth of September, after an engagement of three hours, he took as prize upon the high seas, an armed letter of marque vessel, called the *Betsey*, of two hundred tons burthen, with a valuable cargo, belonging to subjects of Great Britain, not being inhabitants of Bermuda, and bound for New York, then in possession of the British naval and land forces. He took the commander and eleven hands, out of the prize, leaving three in her, and put on board a prize master and eleven other hands, with instructions to proceed to New London. The firing was heard, and the engagement for more than an hour seen, by persons on board three letter of marque brigs that had lately sailed from Philadelphia. During the engagement,

NOTE.

* It was contended by the council for the respondent, that the appeal lay to the court of appeals instituted by the united states; and by the council for the appellants, that the court of admiralty for this state had no jurisdiction in this case.

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the *Betsey* was perceived from the three brigs, bearing towards them. Her surrender was also seen from on board them. The prize-master, in obedience to his instructions, proceeded on his voyage, in company with the *Argo*, for New London. Some time after, the three brigs were discerned from on board the *Betsey*. Towards evening they chased the *Argo* and *Betsey*. The next day, early in the morning, the prize being in tow of the *Argo*, the three brigs were seen from on board the prize and the *Argo*, chasing them. The brigs approached fast, under British colours. Captain Talbot, finding it impracticable for the prize to escape, with a trumpet hailed her, directing the prize master to throw off the rope, and lie too with the prize, until the three brigs should come up with her, adding, that he with the *Argo* would run a little to leeward and lie too also—and that if the brigs should prove to be American, the prize master should endeavour to obtain permission for the prize to come down by herself, and inform him of the brigs being friends. In a short time, the brigs came up, and from one or two of them, under British colours, the *Betsey* was fired at twice, the then bearing British colours reversed, according to the custom of prizes, and being in the latitude of 39 degrees 4 minutes, and the longitude of 71 degrees 24 minutes. When first hailed, the people on board the *Betsey* answered, she was from Montserrat. Persons from two of the brigs, one of which had fired at the *Betsey*, boarded her. Among these was W. D. from the last mentioned brig. The commander of this brig was informed by the prize master on board the *Betsey*, that she was a prize to the *Argo*, commanded by captain Talbot; that the vessel then in sight was the *Argo*; that he was put on board the *Betsey*, as prize-master, by captain Talbot; he shewed him his written instructions as such; but, said the *Betsey* had been taken three days before. W. D. from on board the *Betsey*, told the said commander, that the prize-master denied having seen the brigs the day before, or that she was then captured; but from every circumstance, and from the report of C

one of her English sailors, he was convinced, she was the same vessel engaged the day before. On board the brig, to the commander of which this information was given, were a boatswain and sail-maker, who had been taken by capt. Talbot about ten days before, in a vessel from London, and sent by him prisoners to Philadelphia, and shipped there. One of the persons put into the *Betsey* by captain Talbot, knowing them, mentioned this fact in conversation on board the said brig, to W. D. The person thus put on board by capt. Talbot also said, that the *Betsey* had been taken three days before. The papers on board the *Betsey* were examined by W. D. in behalf of the three brigs, and the number of names specified in the English papers, was found to correspond with the number of persons then on board. From these papers it appeared, that she was a British vessel, bound from Montserrat to New York. W. D. made several other examinations on board the *Betsey*, on behalf of the three brigs, and in the course of them was informed by a seaman who belonged to her, while possessed by the British, that she was taken the day before. This sailor also said, she sailed from Montserrat. Before W. D. left Philadelphia, he had heard, in the coffee house there, a few days before he sailed, that the *Argo*, a New England privateer, had taken the *Dublin cutter*, fitted out full of men of war's men. While these examinations were made, the two other brigs chased the *Argo*, under all sail; upon which, captain Talbot, concluding, they must be British cruisers, made sail before the wind, and soon left them. The commanders of the three brigs took the prize-master and hands out of the *Betsey*, who were carried to Spain, except one or two of the least considerable, and also took out of her two cannon, small arms, powder, ball, two coils of cordage, and some other articles. They then put a person on board her, as prize-master, and men from each of the brigs, with written orders, dated the 7th of September, 1779, and signed by them all, directing him to "take charge of her as prize to the brigs *Achilles*, *Patty*, and *Hibernia*; carry her into *Delaware*, *Chesapeake*, *Egg-Harbour*,

or *Boston*, but to get her if possible into *Delaware*, *Chesapeake*, or *Egg-Harbour*, for fear of the hloop *Argo*'s falling in with her, begging him to stand to the southward that night, and strive hard for *Philadelphia*." These orders were signed on board the brig, the commander of which had directed the examinations before mentioned on board the *Betsey*. The *Betsey* sailed off close by the wind to the southward, was afterwards retaken, carried into *New York*, and restored to the former owners.

On the 17th of Sept. 1779, congress resolved, "that in consideration of the distinguished merit of colonel Silas Talbot, a commission of captain in the navy be given him, and that the marine committee be directed to provide a proper vessel for him as soon as possible." On the first of March, 1780, congress resolved, "that any interest the united states may have, in the capture of the *Betsey*, by the hloop *Argo*, captain Silas Talbot, be relinquished to the said captain, and the officers, seamen, and mariners under his command at the time of the capture." On the 13th of March, 1780, captain Talbot, *quitam*, &c. filed his bill in the court of admiralty for this state, against the three brigs, their owners, and commanders. Process issued accordingly. On the 27th the owners came severally before the court, and entered into stipulations for the performance of the decree. August 29th, a plea to the jurisdiction, filed, "for that in cases of damages to be assessed or recovered to make satisfaction for a wrong or trespass to person or property, the prosecutions ought to be in courts of common law." Replication, "that the cause of action was within the jurisdiction of the admiralty." Plea dismissed, *respondeant ouster* awarded, and plea of not guilty filed. July 19th, 1783, decree, that the libellants have and recover of the respondents twelve thousand seven hundred ninety one pounds five shillings, with costs, and on the 2nd, the respondents appeal.

The resolution, &c.
THERE are two principal questions concerning jurisdiction in this cause.

First, whether the court of admiralty for this state had jurisdiction?

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Second, whether this court has jurisdiction?

The first has been sub-divided into these secondary questions:

First, could the court of admiralty for this state take cognizance, as an instance court, supposing this cause not to be a cause of prize?

Second, did that court take cognizance, as a prize court?

It is acknowledged, by the council for the appellants, that if this is not a cause of prize, the court of admiralty might take cognizance as an instance court, it being now settled that damages may be assessed in the admiralty—if it was not for an objection arising from the act of assembly for regulating and establishing admiralty jurisdiction in this state. By that act the judge of the admiralty shall "have cognizance of all controversies, suits and pleas of maritime jurisdiction, not cognizable at the common law, and thereupon shall decree as the maritime law, the law of nations, and the laws of this commonwealth shall require." The objection made, is, that the present controversy is cognizable at common law.

It is manifest from this act, that in framing it, the legislature took into consideration the English statutes relating to things done upon the high seas, and particularly the statutes of the thirteenth of Richard the second, ch. 3. and 5, and the second of Henry the fourth, chap. 11. by which, "admirals and their deputies are prohibited from meddling with any thing done within the realm of England, but only with things done upon the seas, according to that which hath been duly used in the time of Edward the third," and it is "declared, that the court of the admirals hath no manner of conuance, power or jurisdiction of any contract, plea, or quarrel, or of any other thing done or rising within the bodies of counties, except in cases of death or mayhem done in great ships being in the main stream of rivers beneath the * points of the same."

NOTE.

* Doctor Zouch, in his "jurisdiction of the admiralty," p. 85, urges strong reasons against this construction; and in Owen's reports, p. 122, it is said by the court, that the statute

It is clear, even from these cautions, against encroachments of the admiralty upon the courts of common law, and from the well known dispute, mentioned in Coke's fourth institute, that the jurisdiction of that court, as to "things done upon the sea" is acknowledged to be proper: and, that as to them, the jurisdiction of the common law courts was not proper, but only acquired by a fiction, in supposing them to have been done in some county, when they were not.† The common law courts had a great advantage. They used it. There was no superior court to prohibit them. Upon certain suggestions which they knew to be both false and impossible, they assumed jurisdiction; and would not permit evident truth to be regarded. With such laboured ingenuity has the jurisdiction of common law courts, as to acts upon the high sea been sustained, to the great mortification of Sir Thomas Rydlye, and other learned civilians,‡ the former with much commendation from the rest, very gravely undertaking to prove, that a ship could not sail in Cheapside in the city of London,|| the place usually assigned in suggestions, as the scene of naval transactions.

Yet notwithstanding these statutes, mariners have in England been allowed to sue for wages in the admiralty, upon contracts made there within the body of a county, "against the statute expressly," as was held by the judges, when that great man, lord chief justice Holt, presided in the king's bench.¶ The reasons were, that the remedy was easier, because

NOTES.

of the 15th of Richard the 2d. is misprinted; for the translator mistook bridges for points, that is to say, the lands-end.

† 4 ins. 134 to 143. 3 Blackst. 43, 106, et *Fortescue de laudibus*, 67, et *in notis*.

‡ *Fictio est in re certa, ejus quod est possibile, adversus veritatem, pro veritate a jure facta assumptio.* Doctor Godolphin's view of admiralty jurisdiction, p. 84.

|| Zouch, p. 131, God. p. 105. 3 Blackstone, 107.

¶ Sal. 33.

they could join in the suit, and better, because the ship would be answerable.

In the present case, the owners, masters and sailors, of the three brigs could not be jointly sued at common law. If they could not, what a multiplicity of actions must be brought! Supposing the owners, commander, and men of the Argo could join in a suit at common law, one of them might destroy the action by a release. The vessels are not liable in the same manner at common law, as they are in a court of admiralty.

If the court of admiralty for this state cannot take cognizance of things which courts of common law may draw into their cognizance, it seems to have been nugatory in the legislature to have given that court any other jurisdiction than in cases of prize; for, even in the case of wages, jolly a favourite object of admiralty jurisdiction, mariners may sue for them at common law.

It appears to have been the intention of the legislature, that justice should be done in the easiest and best manner; and that by the words "not cognizable at common law," should be understood, "not properly cognizable at common law."

The next secondary question is so connected with the definition of a cause of prize, and the treating of that subject introduces so many considerations concerning relative circumstances in these states and the law of nations, and these again are so combined with enquiries as to the jurisdiction of this court, that they cannot be conveniently, at least, not easily, separated. We will at present, therefore, pass to the second principal question, reserving till that shall be discussed, what peculiarly relates to the question we now leave.

This state has all the powers of independent sovereignty, by the declaration of independence, on the 4th of July, 1776, except what were resigned by the subsequent confederation, dated the 9th of July, 1778, but not completed by final ratification, until the 1st of March, 1781.

By the confederation, the united

NOTE.

13 Lev. 355.

states are vested, among other things, with the "sole and exclusive power of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land and water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces, in the service of the United States, shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures."

Such a court was established by the style of "the court of appeals in cases of capture." By the commission, the judges are "to hear, try, and determine all appeals from the courts of admiralty in the states respectively, in cases of capture, which now are, or hereafter may be duly entered and made in any of the states."^t

It was resolved by congress, May 24th, 1780, "that all matters, respecting appeals in cases of capture, now depending before congress, or the commissioners of appeals, consisting of members of congress, be referred to the newly erected court of appeals, to be there adjudged and determined according to law."^t

(Remainder in our next.)

— • —
Law-ease—respecting the refusal of paper money.

ON the 25th of October, 1786, came on before the supreme court held in Newport, Rhode Island, the trial of a *qui tam* information, brought by John Trevett, informer, against John Weeden, butcher, for refusing to take, of the said John Trevett, for meat, the bills of credit emitted by an act of the general assembly of said state.

To which complaint the said John Weeden made the following plea:

The said John Weeden comes into court and prays that the honourable court here, will not take cognizance of the complaint of the said John Trevett; because he saith that it ap-

NOTES.

* Act of congress, May 24, 1780.

^t Act of congress, February 14, 1780.

pears by the act of the general assembly, whereon the said information is founded, that the said act hath expired, and hath no force.—Also, for that by the said act the matters of complaint are made triable before special courts, incontrollable by the supreme judiciary court of the state; and also, for that the court is not authorized or empowered by said act, to impanel a jury to try the facts charged in the information, and so the same is unconstitutional and void: all which the said Weeden is ready to verify. Wherefore he prays judgment of the court here, that they will not take further cognizance of the said information.'

James M. Varnum, esquire, opened the pleadings for the defendant. He rejoiced that the cause was now not before a special court, but before the supreme judiciary court of the state—Observed that this was a question of the highest importance, as it affected the fundamental rights and liberties of the people. He very justly drew a line between the legislative and judiciary power, and declared the constitution to be superior to both—Said that the present act did not inflict any penalty—That the first act, which inflicted the penalty, (of which this was only an amendment) had expired.

That the present act had established a judiciary in every county of the state for trial of offenders against the paper money act, without trial by peers, and made their proceedings incontrollable by the superior court. That the citizens were not only entitled to justice, but to equal justice—that this could not take place where there were five different courts, from which there was no appeal: made a learned dissertation on the institution, formation, and powers of the courts of Great Britain and that state, proved that the superior court of that state had by their formation, a control over all other courts; observed that there the laws centered, and there alone could justice be equally distributed, and by consequence, that if courts existed, incontrollable by the supreme judiciary, there was an end to constitutional liberty.

That the act, by constituting any three of the judges of the supreme court, a special court for the trial of

offences against the late act, formed a legal prejudice, and prevented a freedom of judgment in the superior court—for, said he, the superior court must be checked by the act of its members, as a special court. Declared it to be the indispensible duty of legislators to make laws agreeable to the fundamental rules of the association. That the trial by jury was the constitution of the state. That it was the people's birthright: that their ancestors brought it with them from Great Britain—that it was confirmed to them by the charter of Charles II. That it was declared to be so by several acts of the legislature, as well as by congress; and that this constitution could never be violated by a court, unless they were so timid as to act under the influence of a legislature, which was appointed by, and received all its power from, the constitution; and therefore could not exceed the authority from which they derived their powers, but by annihilating themselves as legislators.

He read Blackstone on trial by jury; and lord Coke's explanation of *magna charta*, in which is the following passage—

'Against this ancient and fundamental law, trial by peers, (says lord Coke) and in the face thereof, I find an act of parliament made, that as well justices of assize, as justices of the peace (without any finding a presentment of twelve men) upon a bare information for the king, before them made, should have full power and authority, by their discretion, to hear and determine all offences and contumacy committed or done by any person or persons against the form, ordinance, and effect of any statute made and not repealed, &c. By colour of which act, shaking this fundamental law, it is not credible what horrid oppression and exactions, to the undoing of infinite numbers of people, were committed by sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, being justices of peace through England; and upon this unjust and injurious act (as commonly in law cases it falleth out) a new office was erected, and they made masters of the king's features. But in the parliament, holden in the first year of Henry VIII, the act of the 11th of Henry VIII, a re-

cited and made void; for that by force of the said act it was manifestly known, that many sinister and crafty feigned and forged informations had been pursued against many of the king's subjects, to their great damage, and wrongful vexation: and the ill success hereof, and the fearful end of those two oppressors, should deter others from committing the like, and should admonish parliaments, that instead of this ordinary and precious trial, *per legem terrae*, they bring not in absolute and partial trials, by discretion."

A variety of other authorities of the first eminence were read in proof of the doctrine advanced by Mr. Varro, among which was Vattel on the constitution of laws; where he says "To attack the constitution, is a perfidious abuse of power in the legislature." &c.

The court adjourned to next morning, upon opening of which, Judge Howell, in a firm, sensible, and judicious speech, assigned the reasons which induced him to be of the opinion, that the information was not cognizable by the court. Declared himself independent as a judge—the penal law to be unjust and unconstitutional—and therefore gave it as his opinion, that the court could not take cognizance of the information. Judge Devol was of the same opinion. Judge Tillinghast took notice of the striking repugnancy in the expressions of the act. "Without trial by jury, according to the laws of the land"—and on that ground gave his judgment the same way. Judge Hazard voted against taking recognizance. The chief justice declared the judgment of the court, against the informer, without giving his own opinion.

The emotions of joy expressed by the audience on the occasion, strongly manifested how deeply interested they were in the preservation of a constitutional birthright, which, 'till then, had never been arraigned at the tribunal of their own courts.



Observations on the making of pot-ash, by Aaron Dexter, M. D. communicated to, and published by, the American academy of arts and sciences.

HAVING had frequent applications from the manufacturers of

pot-ash, to examine that article, when condemned by the assay-masters; I have been led to several observations, which are generally the result of experiments, respecting its defects and the causes of its impurity. From a conviction that those defects may be easily remedied, I have committed my remarks to paper, with a concise history of the manufacturing this salt, which I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the American academy of arts and sciences; and if after their critical examination, they shall be thought to contain any useful hints, they will dispose of them as they think proper.

The great evil which injures the sale, and very much reduces the value of some of the American pot-ash, arises from foreign matters, such as common salt and earth, being accidentally mixed with it.

The furnaces, and machines or apparatus, commonly used in this country, for extracting the salts from the ashes, and for boiling and fluxing them, are undoubtedly of a good kind.

The first important object to be observed, is to extract all the salts from the ashes. For this purpose, rain or river water ought always be preferred. The ashes should be saturated and thoroughly wet, and remain with about an inch of water over the top of them twelve hours at least. Then a small opening may be made in the bottom of the leach tub, which ought to contain a strainer, to prevent the ashes from running off. The lie discharged is fit for immediate use. As soon as the manufacturer begins to draw it off, he must apply fresh water, and continue that application and boiling the lies until they are so reduced in strength, that they will no longer pay the expense of boiling. The ashes are, however, still to be preserved, and fresh water applied as before; and, when drawn off, they may be used with profit on fresh ashes, as long as there remain in the lies any salts; which may be discovered by the taste.

The lie, that runs off for use, should be filtered as it passes the bottom of the tub, and also as it runs into the receiver; which process may be performed without any expense or inconvenience, through clean straw. Previous to boiling the lie, it ought to

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stand twenty four hours, and then be drawn into the kettles with great care, so as to leave all the sediment behind. Every precaution should be taken to let nothing fall into the lies previous to, and whilst boiling: therefore that injurious practice of laying wood on the kettles for drying, must be avoided.

Strong lies may always be boiled half away in the first operation; and others much more. After which they must be taken with care out of the kettles, and put into the receiver at hand. Being so shifted, a very small quantity of unflaked lime may be put into it, which serves to clarify, and at the same time renders the lie more pungent to the taste. After standing quiet until it cools to the state of blood heat, it must be again shifted; and in drawing off the lie in every instance, the utmost care must be taken that all the sediment, which is generally a chalky earth, is detained, which process will effectually separate all the common salt, for that will congeal and crystallize with hot water in the same quantity as with cold water, which is not the case with any other neutral salt or alkali. If, after all, from any circumstance unforeseen, the lies shall not appear pure and clean, after being taken from the last sediment, they must stand quiet until another is formed, or until it appears that no other will form; should one form, it must be separated, as before, prior to its being put into the kettles for the last operation. Without these precautions, the pot-ash, in consequence of neutral salts and a chalky matter which are obtained from the ashes, will be hard to flux, and require a long time to effect it: which will greatly endanger the kettles; and after it is fluxed, will be very impure, and sell for a reduced price, if the owner be fortunate enough to find a market at any rate.

The pot-ashes, which I have examined, that have been condemned by the assay-masters, I have found to contain principally common earth, which is undoubtedly the chief source of impurity in the pot-ash of this country. If any crystals of common salt or nitre appear in the sediment, they may be preserved and purified by an easy process, which is known to

people in general, who have attended to the manufacturing of saltpetre.

After the lie is properly cleared from earthy matter and common salt, which not only retard the fluxing process, as has been observed, but render it unfit for many uses, particularly the bleaching of linens, it must continue boiling until evaporation shall cease, then the fire must be increased until the salts are perfectly fluxed, for the purpose of destroying the inflammable substance, with which most of them abound, which may be determined by the following simple method. Take some pot-ash, and dissolve it in water: let there be as much pot-ash as the water will dissolve. Then plunge a piece of silver coin, or any thin plate of silver, into the solution. If the pot-ash contains any inflammable matter, it will change the silver to a dark or black colour, in the same manner as if it had been over the steam of burning sulphur. By this easy experiment, the manufacturer will be saved the expence and mortification of carrying pot-ash to market, which must sell for a very reduced price. Should the workmen discover, on the experiment being made, the inflammable principle, or what is called by the workmen the oily substance, or fire, to exist in the pot-ash, it can be remedied only by dissolving in pure water, and boiling it down and fluxing it a second time; or it may be made into pearl-ashes, by calcination, with a little expence.

Some manufacturers may be discouraged from going through this process, by the labour necessary in shifting the lie so often. But if they consider the advantages they will obtain in fluxing their pot-ash, which will be effected in less than half the time required in the usual way, and the great saving in the expence of kettles, by the lies being made clean and pure; they will be reconciled to the method, notwithstanding the trouble, as on the experiment, their interest will be found to be concerned in its adoption, and as their pot-ash will find a more speedy market, and obtain a higher price. Besides, the manufacturer and the merchant will never be doubtful of their adventures, and the reputation of American pot-ash will be equal, if not superior, to any that is manufactured in Europe.

The subject of pot-ash making, has frequently been before the legislature, and application made for premiums, by people who have, no doubt, acquired useful knowledge in the business. This circumstance, and a wish to render service to the public, are the only motives which have induced me to commit these observations to the academy. I have endeavoured to avoid prolixity, and all chymical terms, as I wish to be understood by people concerned in this branch of business, all of whom may not have had the means of obtaining a perfect knowledge of them.



On the culture and economical uses of the Spanish broom.

THE Spanish broom (*Spartium jencium*, Lin.) is sown on the most arid spots, on the steepest declivities of the hills, in a stony soil, where hardly any other plant could vegetate. In a few years it makes a vigorous shrub: insinuating its roots between the interstices of the stones, it binds the soil, and retains the small portion of vegetable earth scattered over those hills, which the autumnal rains would otherwise wash away.

It is sown in January, after the ground has received a slight dressing. The quantity of seed varies in a given extent of soil; but it is safest to sow thick, as many seeds do not come up, and a number of the plants perish after they have sprung. It cannot be raised otherwise than by seed; when transplanted, it takes root again with difficulty, even in gardens where it is treated with care. But it yields abundance of seeds, which are sold cheap.

A little space is left between each bush, and thus the plants remain without culture for three years, for they are not sufficiently strong to furnish branches long enough for cutting.

There are two uses to which this shrub is applied. Its branches yield a thread, of which they make linen; and in winter, they serve as food for sheep and goats.

In order to obtain the thread, the youngest plants are preferred. They are cut for this purpose generally in the month of August, or after harvest. The branches are cut with a knife, and gathered together in bundles, which are at first laid in the sun to

dry: they are then beat with a piece of wood, washed in a river or pond, and left to sleep in the water for about four hours. The bundles, thus prepared, are taken to a little distance from the water, and laid in a hollow place made for them, where they are covered with fern or straw, and remain thus to sleep for eight or nine days; during which time, all that is necessary, is, to throw a little water once a-day on the heap without uncovering the broom. After this, the bundles are well washed, the green rind of the plant, or epidermis, comes off, and the fibrous part remains; each bundle is then beaten with a wooden hammer upon a stone to detach all the threads, which are at the same time carefully drawn to the extremity of the branches. After this operation, the faggots are untied and spread upon stones or rocks till they are dry.

The twigs must not be peeled till they are perfectly dry; they are then dressed with the comb, and the threads are separated, according to their fineness, and spun upon a wheel. All this operation is reserved for the dead season.

The linen, made of this thread, serves various purposes in rural economy. The coarsest is employed in making sacks and other strong cloths for carrying grain or seeds. Of the finest is made bed, table, and body linen. The cloth, made with the thread of the broom, is very useful; it is as soft as that made of hemp; and it would, perhaps, look as well as that made of flax, if it was more carefully spun. It becomes white in proportion as it is steeped.

The stalks, after the fibrous part has been peeled off, are tied together in small faggots, and sold for the kindling of fires: the faggot generally consists of four. They also make matches of them, but these are not equal to those made of hemp, although they make a brisker fire.

The second and principal use received from the culture of this broom, is its serving for food in winter for sheep and goats.

In fine weather, the sheep are led out to feed on the broom, where it grows: but in bad weather, the shepherds cut the branches, and bring them to the sheep-folds.

Sheep, fed on this plant, are sometimes subject to a disease, the principal characteristic of which is an inflammation in the urinary passages. It proceeds from having eaten of the plant too abundantly, and may be prevented by mixing it with some other. Sheep are particularly subject to the disease when they have eaten the seeds of the broom; and therefore it is most prevalent when the plant is in fruit. The pernicious quality of the seeds is indicated by a heavy smell, which exhales from them when in a heap.

But these inconveniences may be easily prevented, and therefore should be no obstacle to the use of a plant so valuable as this for the nourishment of sheep; and especially as the cure of the disease is simple, consisting merely in cooling drink, or a change of food.

Sheep are not allowed to enter a shrubbery of this broom, the first nor second year after it is sown; but they are permitted to browse upon it after the third year. The lumps, that have been eaten at the extremities, are cut off with a hook; and at the end of six years, it is necessary to cut the stock itself, that it may push out fresh shoots. By this means the broom lasts a very long time, and furnishes pretty long branches every year.

A sandy or stony soil, as I have already observed, agrees exceedingly well with this shrub; and therefore the culture of it ought to be considered as very beneficial, as it furnishes a means of turning to account the most barren and unprofitable spots, where no other plant could prosper.

It may likewise be multiplied in particular inclosures, which may serve in winter as places for feeding deer or even rabbits. Waste places, that are fit for nothing else, may be chosen for this purpose, especially as we see that the culture of the shrub is attended with little expense, and almost no trouble.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that it differs much from the broom that is common every where in the north of Europe, though this too in many places is used as food for cattle. Both of them produce flowers that are very much resorted to by bees, as they contain a deal of the honey juice they are

so fond of. And this should be another inducement to the cultivation of the Spanish broom.



An address to the public, from the South Carolina society for promoting and improving agriculture and other rural concerns.

After having gloriously succeeded, by the assistance of divine providence and our own exertions, in terminating a war, which, for some years past, has laid waste our country, it is incumbent upon us equally to endeavour to promote and enjoy the blessings of peace. This cannot be effected by any means more interesting and advantageous, than by turning our attention to the cultivation and improvement of our fields. We ought not only to think of restoring their former appearance, which has been defaced by the horrors of war; but as, by the event of that war, the fruits of the labour we shall bestow upon them, are now secured as our own, and not at a master's disposal, we are encouraged, and should be induced, to make farther exertions for rendering both their beauty and their produce greater.

Agriculture was one of the first employments of mankind; it is one of the most innocent, and, at the same time, the most pleasing and beneficial of any. By its variety, it keeps the mind amused and in spirits; by its exercise and regularity, it conduces to give vigour and health to the body; and, in the end, it is productive of every other necessary and convenience of life. For agriculture is the parent of commerce; and both together form the great sources, from which the wants of individuals are supplied, and the principal riches and strength of every state flow. It becomes the duty, therefore, as well as the interest, of every citizen to encourage and promote it.

But although our fellow citizens in this, and indeed almost every other of the united states, have not been deficient in general exertions of industry in this line of employment; yet they have been too much satisfied with following the methods practised by their fathers, without attempting to discover better by experiments made

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by themselves; experiments, which, every where else, have, in the end, been crowned with success.

It is certain, that in America in general, the mode of planting and of managing rural concerns has been pretty much the same for fifty years past; except perhaps in the introduction of one or two new articles of produce in a few of the states. It is no less certain, that within that period, by various experiments in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, a considerable and rapid progress has been made in the improvement of every article which concerns the holder and tiller of land there; and in consequence, a new, and almost entirely different system of husbandry has taken place of the former.

These experiments, which were generally made at first by individuals for their own amusement, or profit, none but themselves, or their nearest neighbours were benefited by. They were at length considered as objects of public utility; and numbers of patriotic gentlemen not only undertook to collect and publish accounts of them in different parts of Europe; but by offering prizes, pecuniary and honorary, they increased the spirit of such experiments by emulation and rewards, as well as by a knowledge of their success.

With the same views, we have instituted this society, and, to explain and effect our plan, we have thought proper to publish this address to our countrymen and fellow citizens.

We recommend to the planters in general (and every one has it more or less in his power) to select a small part of his ground, in order to make experiments on it by various methods—in turning up and preparing the soil—in planting it in its natural state, and in adding manure—in trying the effects of different crops in succession to each other, instead of continuing the same (as is commonly practised here) in the same field for a series of years; in tending the crop on the ground by ploughing, hoeing, weeding, and watering—in managing it, after being removed into the barn and yard—in short, by attempting every new mode, which fancy or judgment may direct; nor do we wish these experiments to be confined merely to the cultivation

and improvement of the earth and its products; but to be extended to every other object which is connected with a country life—such as raising and feeding cattle and flock of all kinds—planting and growing fences, and other wood for hring and building—contriving mills, carriages, and every implement of husbandry, and the like.

In managing these experiments, it will occasion very little trouble, but it is absolutely necessary for the planter to keep a regular journal, and to remark every particular circumstance during the course of them. This will bring the whole more immediately to his memory, and under his judgment; and will better enable him to draw up that account of the event, which we request of all such to communicate to us. We likewise invite every other person to favour us with his sentiments and observations on these subjects.

From these different accounts, we may be able to form an opinion of the best method which has been attempted; and we shall occasionally publish a collection of such, as, in our judgment, will tend most to promote the designs of the society; which centre in the interest and advantages of every member of the state, and consequently, of the state itself.

This society cannot, in its yet infant state, ascertain what prizes they can afford for the encouragement and reward of the experiments they recommend. Our number at present is not large; and our income by subscription, which is fixed at a low rate to induce others to join us, is in proportion. When both increase, we shall not be backward in proposing prizes of such value, as may both excite and reward the merit of the candidates.

*Tho. Heyward, jun. president.
Charleston, August, 1785.*

Account of the culture of the scarcity root.

THE Paris magazine for the month of May, contains a letter from the count de Cherrilly, a patriotic nobleman, who resides much in the country, and is esteemed, after Mr. Duhamel, one of the first experimental farmers in France, concerning

the successful cultivation of the newly discovered vegetable, called, by way of contrariety, the root of famine, from its prodigious increase. The qualities and use of this extraordinary vegetable being but little known, we shall give our readers the substance of the count's letter, which may prompt some amongst our farmers to encourage its growth. "I sowed," says the count, "about seven bushels of the seed in a piece of land, containing eleven thousand cubic feet, being two French acres, in the beginning of November. In March, the growth was advanced, and I believed, that, as the product was abundant, I might increase my flock, by planting a number of slips, which could be well spared. I accordingly had them cut off, and set in a light sandy loam, at the distance of about eighteen or twenty inches asunder. In the following month, they increased to such a degree that I compute every single slip to have propagated fourteen fold. In June, the crops were perfectly ripe and full grown; and I ordered a certain quantity, mixed with mowed grass, to be given to my cows, which they exceedingly relished, and produced from twenty to thirty pints of our measure each, at every milking. The milk and butter were both excellent, and entirely free from any rank or disagreeable taste. My labouring horses and mules became so sleek and well coated from this diet, mixed with their ordinary food, that they scarcely could be distinguished from the best of my coach and riding cattle. About one pound of this root is sufficient to mix with beans, oats, barley, or hay at each feed, which may be given morning and evening." It does not yet appear that any sheep have been fed with this root, but there can be no doubt that a general cultivation of it would be attended with the best consequences.



Questions and answers respecting the making of Parmesan cheese.

QUERY 1. *Are the cows regularly fed in stables?*—From the middle of April, or sooner, if possible, the cows are sent to pasture in the meadows, till the end of November usually.

Or only fed in stables in winter?—When the season is past, and snow comes, they are put into stables for the whole winter, and fed with hay.

Do they remain in the pasture from morning till night?—or only in hot weather?—between nine and ten in the morning, the cows are sent to water, and then to the pastures, where they remain four or five hours at most, and at three or four o'clock, are driven to the stables, if the season is fresh, or under porticos, if hot; where, for the night, a convenient quantity of hay is given them.

In what months are they kept at pasture the whole day?—Mostly answered already; but it might be said, that no owner will leave his cattle, without great cause, in uncovered places at night. It happens only to the shepherds from the Alps, when they pass, because it is impossible to find stables for all their cattle.

What is the opinion in the Lodesan, on the best conduct for profit in the management of meadows?—For a dairy farm of 100 cows, which yields daily a cheese weighing 70 to 75lb. of 28 ounces, are wanted 1000 perches of land. Of these, about 800 are standing meadows, the other 200 are in cultivation, for corn and grass fields in rotation.

Do they milk the cows morning and evening?—Those that are in milk, are milked morning and evening, with exception of such as are near calving.

One hundred cows being wanted to make a Lodesan cheese each day, it is supposed that it is made with the milk of the evening and the following morning; or of the morning and evening of the same day; how is it?—The 100 cows form a dairy farm of a good large cheese; it is reckoned that 80 are in milk, and 20 with calves sucking, or near calving. They reckon one with the other about 30 bocalis of 30 oz. of milk. Such is the quantity for a cheese of about 70lb. of 28 ounces. They join the evening with the morning milk, because it is fresher so than if it was that of the morning and evening of the same day. The morning milk would be 24 hours old when the next morning the cheese should be made.

Do they skim, or not, the milk to make butter, before they make the cheese?—From the evening milk all the cream possible is taken away for butter, cream-cheese, &c. The milk of the morning ought to be skimmed only slightly; but every one skims as much cream as he can. The butter is sold on the spot immediately at 24 francs; the cheese at about 28 francs. The butter loses nothing in weight; the cheese loses one third of it, is subject to heat, and requires expenses of service, attention, warehouses, &c. before it is sold; and a man in two hours makes 45 to 50 lb. of butter which is sold directly. However, it is not possible to leave much cream on the milk to make Lodesan cheese, called *grained cheese*; because, if it is too rich, it does not last long, and it is necessary to consume it while young and sound.

Is Parmesan or Lodesan cheese made every day in the year or not?—With 100 cows it is. In winter, however, the milk being less in quantity, the cheese is of lesser weight, but certainly more delicate.

After gathering or uniting the milk, either skimmed or not, what is exactly the whole operation?—The morning of the 3d of March 1786, I have seen the whole operation, having gone on purpose to the spot to see the whole work from beginning to end. At ten in the morning, the skimming of that morning's milk, gathered only two hours before, was finished. I did, meanwhile, examine the boiler or pot. At the top it was eight feet (English) diameter, or thereabout; and about five feet three inches deep, made like a bell, and narrowing towards the bottom to about two one-half feet. They joined the cream produced that morning with the other produced by the milk of the evening before. That produced by this last milk was double in quantity to that of the morning milk, because it had the whole night to unite, and that of the morning had only two hours to do it, in which it could not separate much. Of the cream, some was destined to make cream-cheese, and they put the rest into the machine for making butter. Out of the milk of the evening before, and of that morning, that was all put together after skimming, they took and put

into the boiler 272 boccali, and they put under it two faggots of wood; which being burnt, were sufficient to give the milk a warmth a little superior to lukewarm. Then the boiler being withdrawn from the fire, the foreman put into it the rennet, which they prepare in small balls of one ounce each, turning the balls in his hand always kept in the milk entirely covered; and after it was perfectly dissolved, he covered the boiler to keep the milk defended, that it might not suffer from the coldness of the season, in particular, as it was a windy day. I went then to look on the man that was making cream-cheese, &c. and then we went twice to examine if the milk was sufficiently coagulated. At noon, the true manufactory of cheese began. The milk was coagulated in a manner to be taken from the boiler in pieces from the surface. The foreman, with a flick that had eighteen points, or rather nine small pieces of wood fixed by their middle in the end of it, and forming nine points in each side, began to break exactly all the coagulated milk, and continued to do so for more than half an hour, from time to time, examining it to see its state. He ordered to renew the fire, and four faggots of willow branches were used all at once; he turned the boiler that the fire might act; and then the underman began to work in the milk with a flick like the above, but with only four smaller flicks at the top, forming eight points, four at each side, a span long each point. In a quarter of an hour, the foreman mixed in the boiler the proper quantity of saffron, and the milk was all in knobs, and finer grained than before, by the effect of turning and breaking the coagulation, or curd, continually. Every moment the fire was renewed or fed; but with a faggot only at a time, to continue it regular. The milk was never heated much, nor does it hinder to keep the hand in it to know the fineness of the grain, which refines continually by the flick-work of the underman. It is of the greatest consequence to mind when the grain begins to take a consistency. When it comes to this state, the boiler is turned from the fire, and the underman immediately takes out the whey, putting it into proper receiv-

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ers. In that manner the grain subsides to the bottom of the boiler; and leaving only in it whey enough to keep the grain covered a little, the foreman extending himself as much as he can over and in the boiler, unites with his hands the grained milk, making like a body of paste of it. Then a large piece of linen is run by him under that paste, while another man keeps the four corners of it, and the whey is directly put again into the boiler, by which is facilitated the means of raising that paste that is taken out of the boiler, and put for one quarter of an hour into the receiver, where the whey was put before, in the same linen in which it was taken from the boiler; which boiler is turned again directly on the fire, to extract the whey-cheese; which is a second product, eaten by poor people. After the paste remained for a quarter of an hour in that receiver, it was taken out, and turned into the wooden form, called *saffers*, without any thing else made than the rotundity, having neither top or bottom. Immediately after having turned it into that round wooden form, they put a piece of wood like a cheeze on it, putting and increasing gradually weights on it, which serve to force out the remnant of whey; and, in the evening, the cheeze so formed, is carried into the warehouse, where, after twenty-four hours, they begin to give the salt. It remains in that warehouse for fifteen or twenty days; but in summer only from eight to twelve days. Meanwhile the air and salt form the crust to it; and then it is carried into another warehouse for a different service. In the second warehouse, they turn every day all the cheeses that are not older than six months: and afterwards it is enough, if they are turned only every forty-eight or sixty hours, keeping them clean, in particular from that bloom which is inevitable to them, and which, if neglected, turns musty, and causes the cheeze to acquire a bad smell.



Cursory thoughts on the first settlement of New England.

THE history of one's own nation, and the principal events that

take place in it, in a country like ours, the generality of people may be well acquainted with, if they please, with very little cost and trouble. And such an acquaintance, I am persuaded, would have the happiest effect upon civil and religious life. History hath been defined "as philosophy teaching by example." In well attested history we see the conduct of others, and may learn the nature and tendency of our own: we see the exercise and consequence of such a temper and line of conduct in others, and may learn our own temper and conduct, and the probable consequences. That a dutiful attention to providence, and a fatred regard to the divine will and government, is a matter of the highest importance, I beg leave to illustrate by a few anecdotes of our country, since the settlement of the English in it. I will mention none but notorious facts, the reality of which admits of no dispute.

In the month of December, A. D. 1620, the first company arrived at Plymouth, and on the 9th of the same month, began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods. This company consisted of little more than one hundred persons. Their first care being employed in providing a place for their goods and a common flore, they then began to build some small cottages and huts for habitation. But the work and busines went on slowly, the season was so cold and stormy, themselves worn out with a long and tedious voyage, and a great proportion of them sick with the scurvy, and other diseases, contrasted in their circumstances, and through the inclemency of the climate, and rigour of the season, to which they had been unaccustomed. Sometimes, two or three died in a day, so that scarce half their number remained through the first winter. The provision brought out with them was almost spent, and what remained much damaged: they were able to procure little or none in the country, except what with great difficulty they got out of the sea, which, under God, seems to have been the means of their preservation.

They were in a strange country, far from friends and helpers, the land to them a howling wilderness, full of

savage beasts and more savage men. Yet the little feeble band were preserved, the ferocious natives wonderfully restrained from destroying them, and in many instances disposed to shew them kindness and afford them assistance.

From such small beginnings have arisen the settlements in New England. How amazing the spread and increase of the inhabitants since, tho' it is no more than 165 years last December, since the first arrival at Plymouth!

To trace the population and cultivation of this country by the English inhabitants, and how it hath emerged from barbarism, to its present improvements, with the pleasing prospect of its further advances, under the conduct of divine providence, cannot fail to bring both delight and profit to every contemplative, considering mind. *Middletown, Jan. 1786.*

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Necessity of disseminating knowledge in America—unhappy alteration in the views and pursuits of its inhabitants—danger of falling into the deplorable state of the Europeans—means of prevention.

GENERAL diffusion of knowledge is more necessary in some countries and times, than others. This maxim, however plain and familiar, is, in my opinion, of some importance in the regulation of society; and may be usefully illustrated in a view of the former and present state of North-America.

In the early settlements of the British colonies, most of the inhabitants were farmers. Their circumstances led them to be temperate and industrious—friendly to each other, and honest in common dealings. Their wants were consequently few; their pride was limited to a narrow sphere; and they had little occasion of expense. They were contented in a plain house, with small windows; a bought coat was handed down from father to son; and the sweet belle of a parish stole the hearts of her neighbours, under the admirable dress of a grogram gown and a string of wax beads. The good clergymen led their flocks without much expense. If the common people could read the bible and Bunyan's

holy wars, they were sufficient adepts in divinity: and their principal need of arithmetic was to chalk, on the stair-case or mantle-tree, a day's labour or a pound of pork. The arts of knavery and imposition were only in embryo; few people knew any thing about them; and even such as did, had little opportunity for their improvement. If a tavern-keeper watered his rum or scanted his measure on a training day, a few coppers answered the damage. If a merchant cheated in a bushel of salt or a gallon of molasses, the consequences were hardly perceptible. A roguish collector, who pleased to double his rates upon ignorant individuals, never excited the cry of hunger; the barrel of meal remained full, and the defrauded was still more happy than the defrauder. In this state of affairs, property was secure; liberty was in no danger; and the old man could die in all the comforts of death, a quiet conscience, and the prospect of a well settled offspring.

The condition of the American states at this day affords a very different description. Every circumstance is wonderfully altered. The scene of ambition is opened—genius is on the wing—and thousands of the independent Americans are remarkably anxious to vie with the gentry of Europe in the pleasures of government, equipage, and parade. The little village—the cheap coat—offices of captain and justice—rough wagon—pacing horse—and breasted-saddle and pillion—no longer content them. They sigh to be courtiers, gentry, and great men. Every state must have a bishop—every town a lawyer—and every parish two or three great surgeons and doctors. Cities are swelled with innumerable merchants and officers of trust and profit. Brokers and jockies are found in every street, and a man can scarce open his mouth about public securities, without finding a speculator at his elbow. Many are feeding on the expectation of a new congress and federal government. Representatives of the people—ministers abroad—secretaries of state—and offices in a standing army—are the dear phantoms of hope. A dull Dutchman rides in his phaeton—the judge's daughters wing in a coach—and even

poor cousin Jenny, wife of an attorney, not worth two and six pence, sticks up her nose at black tea and brown sugar. For her part, rather than be deprived of hyson and gunpowder, she would beg in the street.

In result of this condition, the liberty and property of the common people are in some danger. The production of the field, and the hand of labour must support the splendor of ambition and the waste of luxury. To effect these purposes, nothing will be neglected that the brain of genius can invent. Collectors will be multiplied—fees doubled—knavery improved—and poor farmers and mechanics soberly advised to follow their occupations all day, and knit at night. It will be said, in political clubs, that America can never have any national strength so long as property and power remain among the bulk of the people. Good policy will of consequence reduce the price of common wages; a farmer must sell the productions of a season for a few pounds; and a poor carpenter be forced to work half a year, for the expense of a short sickness, or a plain suit of clothes. Thus the comforts of private life are sacrificed at the shrine of public splendor; and the dear hours of simple amusement and harmless independence, converted to the drudgery of constant labour, for the support of dissipation and pride.

To prevent effects of this nature, and promote the common pleasures of a happy nation, the peace of good government, and the blessings of the christian religion, I wish, that my countrymen may enlarge the sphere of common education, and diffuse the benefits and sweets of knowledge through the minds of all their rational children. Instead of perplexing their heads with the honours of a college, and spending their estates in making one son lord it over the rest, let them educate their whole families in such a way as to give them some knowledge of human nature, of government, of religion and the means of preserving private property and social privileges. To this end, let there be a school in the centre of every parish, in which geography, mathematics, English language, composition, history and the art of war, may be regularly taught

by proper instructors. To this school let farmers, mechanics, and seamen, send their children, and there keep them, until they are qualified to improve the advantages of society, and fit with becoming dignity in those several occupations for which they are designed.

In objection to this plan, of common education and improvement, it may possibly be observed, that common people have neither time nor taste for reading; that they are obliged to keep constantly at their business, and that the product of their labour is very inadequate to the payment of their taxes, the decent support of their household, and the settlement of their children. As circumstances now are, this objection seems to have some foundation. So long as the people of a little town remain willing to be at the yearly expense of three or four thousand pounds for imported articles of frippery and vanity—and so long as a fop can be more respected, and lives with more ease than a man of understanding, so long, it is acknowledged, common people will be unable to discharge the expense of good education, and have neither time nor taste for reading. But let the scene be once changed, as reason and good policy dictate to the best; let the son and daughter dress a little plainer—let the gaining table be less frequented—let the importation of rum be prohibited for one year—let every man have understanding enough not to be cheated—let the tobacco pipe be broken, and say how much time and money would be then saved for valuable purposes.

It may also be observed by the politician, that a general diffusion of knowledge makes government uneasy, and that an ignorant people are the best and most happy subjects. Under an Asiatic despot, or an European monarch, this observation will probably hold good. The observers of human life are unanimously agreed, that ignorance lightens the yoke of bondage, and that the stupid ass bears the load of an unreasonable master with more patience and less complaint, than the sons of reason. But very few of them are of opinion, that general ignorance is favourable to the glory of republican states, or the

common bond of social happiness. On the contrary, it is most certainly true, that those republican states, which have been the most knowing, have also been the most happy, most powerful, and most peaceable among themselves.

Hence, let the people of the united states be advised to pursue the acquirement of knowledge, as their greatest good. And let the men of ambition, who wish to be rulers, be pleased to remember, that human nature cannot bear the struggle of sudden change without much trouble and distress. The lot which is now tolerable to a poor highlander in Scotland, would be desperate to an American peasant. He, who has always been used to provide his own bread, does not very willingly ask it of another: and the man, who has been accustomed to freedom, can never be reconciled to the hardships and meanness of a slave. To plough his own land, and live under his own roof, is the natural wish of his heart. He had rather be the lord of his own little possessions, than an hireling or tenant in the sweetest fields of Arcadia.

Finally, my countrymen will suffer me to wish (in the words of a very great and learned politician) that the wisest and most industrious among us may obtain the greatest honours; and that those may be neglected, who, under the flattering pretext of momentary advantages, would establish permanent principles of destruction, and to procure the ease of a few in high station, would draw tears from thousands of the poor!

PHILANTHROPOS.

Newhaven, 1788.



Hints to manufacturers. By Mark Leavenworth, esq.

THE best estimates of the difference in the prices of labour in this country, and the manufacturing parts of Europe, particularly England, prove that labour is from about twelve to twenty per cent. higher, in Connecticut, than in England.*

NOTE.

* Though labour is as high in England as here, within from twelve to twenty per cent, it is not pretended

The actual and real expenses of importing those articles which lie within but a small compass, and consequently pay but small freight, is very little, if at all less than the difference in the price of labour. There are some articles which have been but little manufactured in this country, which pay greater expenses, on importing, than those which have been manufactured with success.

Nails, looking-glass frames, &c.

Nails pay a much less freight than frames of looking glasses, the low priced candlesticks, or even the higher priced (except silver) tea kettles, tea urns, shovels and tongs, and coffee-mills.

Shovels and spades.

But of all the articles in the iron branch, consider the shovels and spades! No. 1, of those articles are made at Sheffield, in Yorkshire, for 24s. sterling per dozen, and the other numbers rise in the price, about eighteen pence, or two shillings for each number, up to number 4; on which prices, the person who takes them from the mechanic, has a discount of from ten to fifteen per cent. i. e. almost equal to the difference in the price of labour. The handles may be had in this country, perhaps somewhat cheaper than in Sheffield. Is it not highly probable from those circumstances, that they might be made here for half a dollar each, or even less? But experience has proved that they can be imported and sold for little, if any thing less than a dollar each.

Glass.

The making glass has been the subject of an exclusive grant. The grantees have never made any, because they did not understand their own business; not because they wanted workmen who understood theirs. The grant is, or will be forfeited, before they will ever make any. The grantees have always been calculating to make the crown window glass, which of all glass work, is the most difficult.

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but that there is really a much greater difference, for the expenses in the articles of bread, meat, drink, fire, candles and lodging, are higher in England, on an average, by perhaps about one fourth.

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cult and expensive. It is understood in Europe but by very few. But the circumstance, which ought to put it out of question, as the first attempt, is, that it may be purchased in this state, at but a little trifle more than it costs in Bristol, when other kinds must cost at least double the European price. A box of window glass, worth three or four pounds, pays about three shillings, or three and four pence freight; and there is little loss in breakage, compared with some other articles of glass. The freight, only, of as many quart bottles, as would cost four pounds, would amount to fifteen or twenty dollars, instead of three shillings, or three and four-pence. The expense of making the bottles, is much less; and people, who understand the business, could much easier be obtained. If they wished to extend their business into the white glass, there is no article which they might not better attempt than window glass; decanters, tumblers, chandeliers, fenders, phials and wine glasses, all pay a freight beyond all proportion greater than the window glass. But, after all, the bottles would be the greatest object to more than one glass house; for if we could have them at a reasonable price, the sale would be vastly extensive, and our farmers would be much benefited by it. If we had bottles in plenty, and cheap, our cider might be shipped to the West Indies and the southern states, to great advantage. We might always send cider, that would be better than the famous Bristol cider, for which the inhabitants of the southern states pay a pistareen per bottle. The common junk bottles, put on board ship in Bristol for exportation, cost one shilling and four-pence sterling, per dozen; but they are made under the weight of heavy duties, which, though drawn back on exportation, considerably increase the expense. Is it not probable that it might be good business to make them at two shillings and four-pence Connecticut currency per dozen? Might not a plenty of bottles prevent the extravagance of drinking London bottled porter, and thereby make a demand for a great number of bottles?

Gloves.

It has been objected to my projects
VOL. V. No. I.

for manufacturing the spades and shovels, and the glass bottles, that they require too large capitals; there are, however, many branches of manufacture which are neglected merely because they require too small capitals.

A shopkeeper who lives near me, whose business is obviously too small to support his family, even with good economy, frequently asks his friends what business he shall do, and is really anxious to be determined. One of my acquaintance, to whom the complaint was made, answered, your wife is industrious, and is handy at the use of the needle—half your flock in trade would make you a capital glossery; and you might attend your shop with the other half at the same time: “but the business is too small.” The manufacturing the gloves which are sold in this town, would maintain any shopkeeper’s family.

I designed this remark, only as introductory to another:—

Brushes.

We send bristles and wood to Europe, to have them made into brushes. We import not only tooth and buckle brushes, but the hearth, the white-washing, and the floor brushes, including the very handles. It is only a moderate calculation, that we could make all the larger brushes for the expenses of importing them only, exclusive of any first cost.

At a time when the joiners are almost out of employment, any one of them might find himself very full employment in making only our larger brushes.

Bristles have sometimes been so scarce, that when a particular kind of brush has been wanted, imported brushes have been purchased to take to pieces to obtain the bristles in a different form: it is not surprising that bristles are scarce, when we have no use for them; however, let any person purchase all that are brought, and enough will come. But the business is too small!!

Newhaven, August 17th, 1787.



Address to the respective members of the general assembly of representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, from the
E.

committee of the manufacturers and mechanics of Philadelphia.

THE bill "to encourage and protect the manufactures of this state," lately published for consideration, although the mode proposed by it does not fully answer their expectation, has animated the committee of that body which solicited the patronage of the legislature, with a lively hope, that, on a more explicit representation, the members of the honourable house will perceive, that the mechanics and manufacturers have constantly kept in view the general interest of the state, as well as their own emolument.

The committee consider iron, leather, and hemp, as the great articles which afford a basis for American manufactures, and while they wish a due attention paid to every other article now manufactured among us, they consider those articles as deserving the first consideration and greatest encouragement.

The importance of iron, as a great staple of our country, is well understood, and that the value of manufactures is composed by the price of the materials, added to the value of the labour, or workmanship. It is evident, that where labour is high, those articles, which contain the greatest quantity of materials produced in our country, and the least labour, deserve our first attention and greatest encouragement. Thus, the value of an anvil or fledge hammer, is chiefly in the iron; while that of a needle, or a lancet, is almost entirely in the labour or workmanship. Hence they infer, that a general principle may be applied to the due encouragement of this great staple article. They conceive a duty on the pound weight is perfectly coincident with this principle; and that its operation will produce all the effects which are desired, more readily, more equally, and to more general satisfaction, than a particular description of articles, which might tend to excite jealousies and dissatisfaction. The exception to this general rule, in the articles of clock and watch work, is rested on the necessity of this trade, for repairing those machines, and the advantage of occasional assistance from workmen of this branch, in executing a variety of small

machinery, which alone could not afford constant employ to workmen.

A general principle, like that above mentioned, will not apply so perfectly to the article of leather, from the very unequal manner of its operation; and therefore it becomes unavoidably necessary to enumerate divers articles specially, which the committee have attempted to do impartially.

The manufacture of hemp near the city, is confined, at present, to the articles of twine, lines, rope, and other cordage; the committee have, therefore, had, more particularly, these articles in view; but conceive it not improper to suggest to you, gentlemen, the importance of a timely encouragement of other articles dependent on this great staple of our country; especially the very great and important one, of sail cloth. In this enlarged view, the extending of the duty of one penny per pound on all hemp made into cloth, imported, may induce this manufacture to be speedily set on foot, and, in due time, a variety of others of like nature. This would be placing the manufacturing of hemp, on the same principle with that of iron.

The importance of ship-building, whether considered as the defence or riches of an empire, is too well understood, both in Europe and America, to need any illustration. The committee, therefore, think it necessary only to say, that they have aimed at a measure which will give it effectual support, on the same general principles with those applied to the articles of iron and hemp, with which it is intimately connected.

They feel themselves happy in the reflexion, that this encouragement not only tends to the emolument of the ship carpenters; but encourages the making of iron and raising of hemp, and the manufacturing of both these articles, profitably to the workmen, and, at the same time, is directly pointed to the general interest of the state.

They hope, that the produce of those duties will be found, on trial, a fund sufficient for the payment of a future bounty on hemp, and, perhaps, some other articles connected with ship-building, which would afford still greater encouragement to that art.—

more direct and evident advantage to the husbandman, and, at the same time, prove equally advantageous to the merchant, whose interest, in this case, is evidently the same with that of the community in general.

In the variety of enumerated articles, the committee have expressed their judgment, formed on the best information they have obtained. It will, perhaps, be observed, that they have omitted the article of playing cards, mentioned in the law. They conceive, that the making of this article in America, does not deserve the "encouragement" of the legislature, and they rejoice that among those who have solicited your patronage, there are none found who manufacture them. Their primary object is not revenue; but, if it were, it has been questioned, whether it would be proper, on payment of any duty whatever, to warrant, by law, their importation into a republic, whose riches are the industry of the people, and whose strength is their virtue.

When the mechanics and manufacturers first laid their distressful situation before the legislature, the destructive effects of enormous importation of the manufactures of other countries, were not so strongly felt, as to draw the public attention; but the distresses, which such importations have brought on the state, by rending from us our species, leaves it unnecessary now, to reason on that subject: our feelings have been convinced. Notwithstanding this, the committee apprehend some difficulties may arise in this business, from the influence of the merchant, who prefers his own present interest to that of the community, against which the good people of the state have no other shield, than the wisdom and virtue of their representatives. It would, however, be injustice to conceal, that the committee have derived the most cheerful and ready assistance from some merchants, whose knowledge and experience render them respectable, and whose extensive comprehension is capable of conceiving, that the true interest of the state is, eventually, their interest.

The interest of the land-holder, of the mechanic, and of the manufacturer, the committee apprehend form

that great general interest of the state, on which its solid riches and strength must depend; and that foreign commerce is entitled to countenance and encouragement among us, so far as they tend to the support of that great interest. On this principle, they hope the legislature will determine on all questions respecting the proposed duties; and beg leave to add their idea that this ought not to be confined to the duration of the 2 1-2 per cent. duty; but be made perpetual. And they respectfully suggest, that the preamble of the law might, with truth and propriety, refer to advantages to the land-holder, and others, to be derived from the labours of mechanics and manufacturers, in times of peace as well as of war.

Signed by order of the committee,
JAMES PEARSON,
chairman, *pro tem.*

Philadelphia, April, 1785.



*Extract from the minutes of the board
of managers of the Pennsylvania
Society of Arts and Manufactures.*

THE committee, to whom was referred the enquiry into the process of colouring leather, in the manner practised in Turkey and Morocco, report, that they have made enquiry into the subject, and find the business has been attempted by two manufacturers in this city; by one of whom it is still carried on; but they are informed, the method of fixing the colours has not yet been obtained here. They find, also, that this branch has been an object of repeated enquiry and experiment in Europe, and that the most valuable matter relating to it, ever made public there, is the following process, which they beg leave to recommend to the attention of the board.

On the directions contained therein, they beg leave to remark, that the repeated washings and drenchings of the skins appear to be intended to expel from them some natural quality, which would prevent the perfect fixing of the colours. The excessive difference, however, between the prices of American and Morocco skins, and the great and increasing importance of the leather branch in the United States, render it very desirable,

that every part of this process which conveniently can, should be adopted by our manufacturers.

TENCH COXE.
JOHN KAIGHN.

Processes for dyeing leather red and yellow, as practised in Turkey, with directions for preparing and tanning the skins, as communicated by Mr. Philippo, a native of Armenia, who received from the Society for the encouragement of arts in London, one hundred pounds sterling, and also the gold medal of the society, as a reward for discovering this secret.

First preparation of the skins, both for red and yellow leather, by drenching them in lime.

LET the skins, dried with the hair on, be first laid to soak in clean water, for three days; let them then be broken over the flesh side, put into fresh water two days longer, and afterwards hung up to drain half an hour. Let them now be broken on the flesh side, limed in cold lime on the same side, and doubled together with the grain-side outward. In this state, they must be hung up within doors, over a frame, for five, or six days, till the hair be loose, which must then be taken off, and the skins returned into the lime pit, for about three weeks. Take them out, and let them be well worked, flesh and grain, every sixth or seventh day, during that time, after which let them be washed ten times in clear water, changing the water at each washing. They are next to be prepared in drench, as hereafter mentioned.

Second preparation of the skins for both the red and yellow dies, by drenching.

After squeezing the water out of the skins, put them into a mixture of bran and water, warm as new milk, in the following proportion, viz. About three pounds of bran for five skins, and water sufficient to make the mixture moderately fluid, which will be about a gallon to each pound of bran. In this drench, let the skins lie three days, at the end of which time, they must be well worked, and afterwards returned into the drench, two days longer. They must

then be taken out, and rubbed between the hands; the water squeezed from them; and the bran scraped off clear from both sides of the skins. After this, they must be again washed ten times, in clear water, and the water squeezed out of them.

Thus far the preparatory process of all the skins, whether intended to be dyed red or yellow, is the same; but afterwards, those which are to be dyed red, must be treated as follows: *Preparations, in honey and bran, of the skins that are to be dyed red.*

Mix one pound of honey with three pints of lukewarm water, and stir them together till the honey is dissolved. Then add two double handfuls of bran, and taking four skins (for which the above quantity of the mixture will be sufficient) work them well in it one after another. Afterwards fold up each skin separately, into a round form, with the flesh side inwards, and lay them in an earthen pan, or other proper vessel; if in the summer, by the side of each other; but, in the winter, on the top of each other. Place the vessel in a sloping position, so that such part of the fluid, as may spontaneously drain from the skins, may pass from them. An acid fermentation will then rise in the liquor, and the skins will swell considerably. In this state they must continue for seven or eight days; but the moisture, that drains from them, must be poured off, once or twice a day, as occasion may require. After this, a further preparation in salt is necessary; which must be performed in the following manner.

Preparation, in salt, of the skins to be dyed red.

After the skins have been fermented in the honey and bran, as before-mentioned, let them be taken out of that mixture, on the eighth or ninth day, and well rubbed with dry common sea salt, in the proportion of about half a pound to each skin; the salt must be well worked and rubbed with them. This will make them contract again, and part with a further considerable quantity of moisture; which must be squeezed out, by drawing each skin separately through the hands. They must next be scraped clean on both sides from the bran, superfluous salt, and moisture that

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may adhere to them. After which dry salt must be strewed over the grain side, and well rubbed in with the hand. They are then to be doubled, with the flesh side outwards, lengthwise from head to tail, and a little more dry salt must be thinly strewed over the flesh side, and rubbed in: for the two salt operations, about a pound and a half of salt will be sufficient for each skin. They must then be put, thus folded on each other, between two clean boards, placed sloping, breadthwise; and a heavy weight laid on the upper board, in order gradually to press out what moisture they will thus part with. In this state of pressure they must be continued two days, or longer, till it is convenient to dye them, for which they will then be duly prepared.

Preparations of the red dye, in a proper proportion for four skins.

Put eight gallons of water into a copper, with seven ounces of shenan—the root of alkanet is also used—tied up in a linen bag. Light a fire under a copper; and when the water has boiled about a quarter of an hour, take out the bag of shenan, and put into the boiling fluid or lixivium; 1st, two drams of alum; 2dly, two drams pomegranate bark; 3dly, three quarters of an ounce of turmeric; 4thly, three ounces of cochineal; 5thly, two ounces of loaf sugar. Let the whole mixture boil about six minutes, then cover the fire, and take out a quart of liquor, putting it into a flat earthen pan; and when it is as cold as new milk, take one skin folded lengthwise, the grain side outwards, and dip it in the liquor, rubbing it gently with the hands. Then taking out the skin, hang it up to drain, and throw away the superfluous dye. Proceed in the same manner with the remaining three skins; and repeat the operation of each skin separately, eight times, squeezing the skins by drawing them through the hands before each fresh dipping. Lay them now on one side of a large pan, so sloping to drain off as much of the moisture as will run from the skins as they are cold; then tan them as hereafter directed.

Tanning the red skins.

Powder four ounces of the best white galls in a marble mortar, sift

it through a fine sieve. Mix the powder with about three quarts of water, and work the skins well in this mixture for half an hour or more, folding up the skins fourfold. Let them lie in this tan for twenty-four hours, when they must be worked again as before; then taken out, scraped clean on both sides from the brit galls, and put into a like quantity of fresh galls and water. In this fresh mixture, they must be again well worked for three quarters of an hour; then folded up as before, and left in the fresh tan for three days. On the fourth day, they must be taken out, washed clean from the galls, in seven or eight fresh quantities of water, and then hung up to dry. *Manner of drying the skins, after they are tanned.*

When the skins have been treated as above, and are very near dry, they should be scraped with the proper instrument or scraper on the flesh side, to reduce them to a proper degree of thickness. They are then to be laid on a smooth board, and glazed by rubbing them with a smooth glass; after which they must be oiled, by rubbing them with olive oil, by means of a linen rag, in the proportion of one ounce and a half of oil for four skins: they are then to be grained on a graining board, lengthwise, breadthwise and from corner to corner.

Preparation with galls, for the skins to be dyed yellow.

After the four skins are taken out of the drench of bran, and clean washed as before directed in the second article, they must be well worked, half an hour or more, in a mixture of a pound and a half of the best white galls, finely powdered, with two quarts of clean water. The skins are then to be separately doubled lengthwise, rolled up with the flesh side outwards, laid in the mixture, and close pressed down on each other, in which state they must continue two whole days. On the third day, let them be again worked in the tan, and afterwards scraped clean from the galls with an ivory or beech instrument (for no iron must touch them). They must then be put into a fresh tan, made of two pounds of galls finely powdered, and about three quarts of water, and well worked therein fifteen times. After this they must be doubled, rolled up as

before, and laid in the second tan for three days. On the third day, a quarter of a pound of white sea salt must be worked into each skin; and the skins doubled up as before, and returned into the tan, till the day following, when they are to be taken out, and well washed six times in cold water, and four times in water lukewarm. The water must be then well squeezed out, by laying the skins under pressure, for about half an hour, between two boards, with a weight of about two or three hundred pounds laid upon the uppermost board, when they will be ready for the dye.

Preparations, of the yellow dye, in the proper proportion, for four skins.

Mix six ounces of cassiai gehira, or genira, or the berries of the eastern rhamnus buck thorn; sumach is also used, with the same quantity of alum, and pound them together till they be fine, in a marble or brafs mortar, with a brafs pestle. Then dividing the materials, thus powdered, into three equal parts, of four ounces each, put one of those three parts into about a pint and a half of water, in a china or earthen vessel, and stir the mixture together. Let the fluid stand to cool, till it will not scald the hand; then spreading one of the skins flat on a table, in a warm room, with the grain side uppermost, pour a fourth part of the tinging liquor, prepared as above directed, over the upper or grain side, spreading it equally over the skin with the hand, and rubbing it well in; afterwards, do the like, with the other three skins, for which the mixture first made will be sufficient. This operation must be repeated twice more on each skin separately, with the remaining eight ounces of the powder of the berries and alum, with the above mentioned due proportions of hot water, put to them as before directed.

The skins, when dyed, are to be hung up on a wooden frame, without being folded, with the grain side outwards, about three quarters of an hour to drain, when they must be carried to a river or stream of running water, and well washed therein six times or more: after this, they must be put under pressure for about an hour, till the water be squeezed out; afterwards

the skins must be hung up to dry in a warm room.

This being done, the skins are to be dressed and grained as before directed, for those dyed red; except the oiling, which must be omitted.

Published by order of the board.

C. WISTAR, secretary.

Philadelphia, Dec. 4, 1788.

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A letter from the tradesmen and manufacturers of New York, to the tradesmen and manufacturers of Boston.

New York, Nov. 17, 1788.

Gentlemen,

THE mechanics and manufacturers of the city of New York, having long contemplated and lamented the evils, which a pernicious system of commerce has introduced into our country; and the obstacles with which it has opposed the extension and improvement of American manufactures; and having taken into consideration your circular letter*, wherein those evils, and their remedies, are pointed out, in a just and striking manner; have authorised us to communicate to you in answer to your address, their sentiments on the interesting subject.

It is with the highest pleasure that we embrace this opportunity to express to you their approbation of the liberal and patriotic attempt of the tradesmen and manufacturers of your respectable town.

Every zealous and enlightened friend to the prosperity of this country, must view with peculiar regret, the impediments with which foreign importations have embarrassed the infant arts in America. We are sensible that they not only are highly unfavourable to every mechanical improvement, but that they nourish a spirit of dependence, which tends in some degree to defeat the purposes of our late revolution, and tarnish the lustre of our character. We are sensible that long habit has fixed in the minds of the people an unjust predilection for foreign productions, and has rendered them too regardless of the arguments, and complaints, with which the patriotic and discerning have addressed

NOTE.

* See Vol. IV. page 347.

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A series of letters on the worship of the Deity, &c.

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them from every quarter. These prejudices have become confirmed and radical; and we are convinced that a strong and united effort is necessary to expel them. We are happy that the tradesmen of Boston have led the way to a general and efficient exertion in this important cause.

The impressions we feel of the utility and expediency of encouraging our domestic manufactures, are in perfect correspondence with your own; and we shall most chearfully unite our endeavours with those of our brethren throughout the union, and shall be ready to adopt every measure which will have a tendency to facilitate the great design.

The legislature of our state, convinced of the propriety of cherishing our manufactures in their early growth, have made some provisions for that purpose. We have no doubt that more comprehensive and decisive measures will in time be taken by them. But on the confederated exertions of our brethren, and especially on the patronage and protection of the general government, we rest our most flattering hopes of success.

In order to support and improve the union and harmony of the American manufacturers, and to render as systematic and uniform as possible, their designs for the common benefit, we perfectly concur with you on the propriety of establishing a reciprocal and unreserved communication. When our views, like our interests, are combined and concentrated, our petitions to the federal legislature, will assume the tone and complexion of the public wishes, and will have a proportionable weight and influence.

We request you to favour us with a continuation of your correspondence, and to transmit to us, from time to time, such resolutions and proposals of your association, as may be calculated for the promotion of our mutual interests.

We are, with the highest respect and esteem, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servants,
Anthony Post, Ananias Cooper,
Francis Childs, Andrew Atterton,
Wm. W. Gilbert, Henry Pope,
Francis Vandyke, John Goodloe,
Wm. J. Elsworth.

Addressed to messieurs John

Gray, Gibbons Sharp, Benjamin Aullin, jun. Sarah Belcher,
William Hawes, and Joshua Wetherle.



A series of letters, on the establishment of the worship of the Deity, as essential to national happiness. By an American.

*Plusque boni mores,
Quam bona leges, valent. Tacitus.*

“ Religion !

Without thee, what were unenlighten'd man !

A savage roaming through the woods and wilds,

In quest of prey : and with th' un-fashon'd fur

Rough clad : devoid of ev'ry finer art,
And elegance of life. Nor happiness
Domestic, mixt of tenderness and care,
Nor moral excellence, nor social bliss,
Nor guardian law, were his.

Nothing, save rapine, indolence, and
guile,
And woes on woes, a still revolving
train,

Whose horrid circle had made human
life

Than non-existence worse ; but, taught
by thee,

Ours are the plans of policy and peace,
To live like brothers, and, conjunctive
all,
Embellish life.”

Thomson.

LETTER I.

Dear sir,

YOU are pleased to ask my opinion on on the sentiment expressed in doctor Price's observations, respecting the article of religious liberty ; and whether there may not be an establishment of religion consistently with the civil and religious rights of all denominations : and on the expediency of such an establishment in these states ?

I submit the subsequent thoughts to your candour.

Doctor Price, by his generous and disinterested labours in the cause of human nature, merits the applause of all the friends of civil and religious liberty in the world, and especially of every American. I esteem it a special favour, that he and other foreigners, of enlarged minds, have given us their

enlightened thoughts on the momentous subject of government, and the permanent foundation of such a system of regulation, as shall tend to make wise and happy present and future American generations. May we profit by their labour!

We need the assistance of the wise and good, as well as the smiles of an omnipotent providence, to lay firm and lasting the basis of the most glorious empire on which the sun ever shone.

Happy land of universal liberty! Thrice happy thy future sons, if wisdom direct and establish the councils of their fathers! While the subjects of European monarchies pine in ignominious vassalage, and look up, from an humble distance, to their haughty lords and oppressors, the free-born American smiles, with conscious dignity and independence, in the possession of the rights and privileges of man, and is eligible to the office of honour and influence, in the road of merit, depending not on the capricious whim of a despotic prince, or his favourite, but on the uncorrupted voice of his fellow citizens.

May Americans, by their wisdom and virtue, forever merit those high encomiums which the enlightened among foreign nations have bestowed upon them.

Europe has, for ages, groaned under civil and ecclesiastic oppression, and still feels the smart of tyranny in church and state. The nations have in time past revolted from oppression, and roused to seize the prize of freedom, but have generally fallen on two evils, anarchy in the first instance, and the power of some aspiring despot, as the consequence, who has more firmly riveted their chains. *Incidit in Scyllam, dum vult vitare Charibdim.* Happily we have shot the gulf, without feeling the rock of tyranny, or the whirlpool of anarchy; and our war-worn bark has reached the fair haven of peace. The heat and burden is past, but the work of the day is yet to be finished. We have to seize the advantages which Providence hath put into our hands, and to turn them to the public good.

Such is the state of human nature, that the sanctions of religion are necessary to give energy to law. Man-

kind are held back from wrong, by the commanding awe of a power infinitely superior to the power of their own creating; and are excited to the practice of the moral and social virtues, by the animating hope and assurance of future approbation and reward.

Doctor Price passes over in silence, a point I conceive essential to the future prosperity of these states; that is, the support of the public worship of the Deity; I mean not, the establishment of any one sect or denomination, accompanied either with an exclusion or toleration of others. Uniformity in mode or sentiment is not to be expected: almost all the different sects, into which christendom is divided, are scattered throughout this continent. No one state is uniform, either in creeds or modes of worship, and therefore no one denomination can be established on the principles of equal liberty.

The magistrate steps out of the line of his duty, the moment he establishes his opinion as the standard of orthodoxy; because, in religious notions, every man is his own judge, and his speculative opinions fall not under the cognizance of human law. In this respect, the constitutions of the American states have shewn a noble freedom from the shackles of human inventions in religious matters, unparalleled by other nations: but if, to shun the dangers which religious establishments have brought upon mankind, we cast off all religious worship, or leave it to the option of individuals at large, whether public worship, or religious instruction, shall be supported at all, I conceive it is making such an offering at the shrine of liberty, as is inconsistent with national existence, or at least with public order and happiness.

All nations, heathen as well as christian, have ever maintained the worship of the Deity. The Grecians and Romans had their public sacred days, devoted to the worship of their deities and to the instructions of morality. They had their priests, haruspices, and prophets, who taught the knowledge of the Deity, enforced the practice of virtue, and pointed out the dangers of vice, by considerations drawn from a future state of retribution. Their fables of Tartarus and Elysium, and the sentence passed

by their judges on departed spirits, according to their good or evil conduct in this world, were mighty incentives to a virtuous life, and necessary aids to civil government.

Lycurgus and Solon, Romulus and Jereboam, those founders of nations, saw the necessity of calling in the aid of religion to give stability and duration to their newly-erected empires; and, without it, their political plans would have proved abortive. Human nature is still much the same; and the aids of religion are as necessary in forming empires in moderns, as in ancient times. (*To be continued.*)

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General observations, intended to direct the judgment in forming a just opinion of the men who ought to be chosen to represent a free people; addressed to the citizens of Maryland: by James M'Henry, esq.

1. **E**NDEAVOUR to elect men whose circumstances and situation will have no improper influence upon their public proceedings.

2. Men embarked in the same speculations are too much disposed to combine together to get some of their party to be lawmakers. Yet it is possible for such men to prefer the general good to their own speculations; but such instances are uncommon.

3. Men heavy-laden with debt are disqualified for legislators. Should a dishonest path open, through which they can escape from their embarrassment, it is scarcely possible for them to decline taking it. No man should be suffered to sit as a judge in his own cause.

4. Shun men who have always been found to direct their opposition even against the liberal thinkers of a different religious persuasion, when placed in competition with a person of their own church. These are enemies to equal liberty, and will sacrifice almost every thing to a religious prejudice; yet it is difficult to determine, whether the human mind is more under the influence of interest or bigotry. Interest is a Scylla; bigotry a Charybdis. Ye friends of mankind! ye lovers of civil and religious liberty! keep far away from your councils, bigots and interested men!

5. Never trust a cunning man to make laws for you, when you can get

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an honest man; the first does every thing by trick—the last every thing by truth. The one is always candid—the other always a hypocrite, and, when nothing else will do, a liar.

6. The possession of power begets power. Do not give power to a weak man, for he cannot use it to your advantage; nor to a bad man, for he will turn it to his own profit. It is only to be trusted in the hands of a good man, and even not long with him, lest it should corrupt his virtue.

7. A long possession of power necessarily weakens the love of liberty, and creates an indifference to the approbation of good men. Power, by increasing men's influence, inclines them to rely more upon it, than upon virtue, for their re-election.

8. It is always dangerous to keep the offices of government filled with men linked together by the same ties of interest. Should this ever happen, and these men acquire influence to continue themselves in office, the liberties of the people will be swallowed up in their particular interest. To prevent this calamity, the bill of rights is continually reminding you, that "elections ought to be free and frequent," and that a rotation in the higher departments of government, is one of the best securities of permanent freedom. And yet how little pains is taken to prevent the same men from being elected, year after year, to the same offices! Re-elections into the assembly must finally render it a hereditary body. The Pennsylvanians have endeavoured to guard against this kind of corruption, by the 8th section of their frame of government, which ordains—"that no person shall be capable of being elected a member to serve in the house of representatives of the freemen of that commonwealth, more than four years in seven." This is a wise article; breaking up combinations, and staying the progress of aristocracy and self-interest.

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A brief account of Kentucke, extracted from a letter of Isaac M'Nison, esquire, to the rev. Jordan Dodge, at Sturbridge: dated at Nelson county, Kentucke, January 11, 1788.

“ **T**HE soil of Kentucke, like all other countries, is various,

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but what we here distinguish by the terms first and second rate lands, are, from one to several feet deep, of a chocolate, and, in some places, of a deep mulatto colour, exempted from stones, gravel, or sand on the surface; and where these are the qualities, it pretty generally lies on a flat limestone quarry, from three to six feet below the soil. Lands of an inferior quality, of which (notwithstanding the accounts given of this country) there are large quantities, pretty generally resemble those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but are not so stony.

" It is chiefly a well, but heavy timbered country; the chief kinds of timber are, black walnut, locust, wild cherry, various kinds of ash, mulberry, butternut, hickory, beech, white wood, oaks, and sugar trees in abundance.

" Lands of the first and second quality, and, at present, we do not improve any other, are very little troubled with underbush; what there is, is chiefly spice wood, and what the Indians call papaw.

" The produce is Indian corn, wheat, rye, spelt, rice, barley, tobacco, hemp, flax, cotton, indigo, and vines of every kind.

" The three first articles of grain are raised in such abundance, as to stagger the belief of the most credulous.

" One hundred and seven bushels of shelled corn have actually been gathered in one season from one acre, planted in the usual way, and ploughed and hoed only twice. However, the more general crop is from fifty to eighty bushels the acre.

" I do not recollect to have heard of any person being so curious in ascertaining the produce of an acre of wheat, but a gentleman assured me, that from two bushels of rye, which he sowed last year, he reaped eighty-eight bushels and an half: and the soil, after a year or two's cultivation, is equally favourable to wheat.

" I wish I could be as favourable in my account of water, which, though but scarce, is, I expect, much more plenty than you have been informed. What we have is cold and clear. Mill streams are plenty, and will be generally supplied with water seven or eight months of the year; and at

no season, will there be any deficiency of water for domestic purposes. The streams always have sufficiency for stock, and it may any where be obtained with digging.

" Perhaps no country, so young and remote, was ever so well furnished with pious and eminent clergy of almost every denomination, as Kentucke. We have a few episcopalians, one roman catholic priest, several presbyterian and baptist ministers; the latter are much the most respectable number.

" We are not less happy on the subject of education; we have a charter for a college, which will soon be well endowed; eight thousand acres of land of the first quality, are already given it. The country abounds with Latin schools, one of which, consisting of near thirty scholars, will, we expect, open in a few days in this place, for the accommodation of which we have a stone edifice erected, forty feet by twenty-four. As its situation is healthful, and in a rich, thickly settled country, the inhabitants of which are much devoted to the institution, we have very exalted expectations of its future usefulness.

" The Kentucke country, which in the Indian language imports bloody, was established into a separate district in 1782; it now contains seven counties, the names of which are, Jefferson, Fayette, Lincoln, Nelson, Madison, Mercer, and Bourbon; but the great extent of our settlements, being upwards of two hundred miles in length, and as much in breadth, and the almost daily arrivals by land and water, make it next to impossible to give you with any degree of certainty the number of our inhabitants; the lowest calculations make them fifty thousand souls, and others double that number. Most of the savage tribes contiguous, are still hostile to this country; the exterior parts of which are sometimes visited by them, but the chief injury done of late, is in stealing horses: instances, it is true, sometimes occur, of murders committed by these vagrants, but as the country is so populous, and its settlements so extensive, the interior parts, which, for a long time have enjoyed a state of perfect safety, take but little or no notice of them.

" The climate of Kentucke, I find so very healthful, and at the same time so very moderate, compared with any thing experienced in the northern states, that I cannot do justice to my feelings without touching on the subject. The falls of Ohio, which are about the mean climate of the district, are situated in 37. 30. of latitude; but the country is much more serene and temperate than we could suppose from its situation, owing chiefly, perhaps, to its great remove from the northern lakes.

" Our coldest weather is generally at the setting in of the winter, and seldom continues more than seven or eight weeks.

" Travellers observe, that countries generally abound in grass and other articles of forage, in proportion to their necessity, which though perhaps true, is by no means the case in this country: the soil, from its nature and richness, is extremely well calculated for grass and other articles of herbage, the chief of which are, buffalo grass, buffalo clover, which nearly resembles our English clover, but is larger, and a kind, which, from its similarity to it, is called rye grass: and where these do not prevail, the country abounds with cane, which, continuing green during the winter, affords an excellent food for flock, inasmuch that our cattle in most parts of the country, will be excellent beef every day in the year, without any care or labour of the owner.

" We have many things in Kentucke, entitled to the epithet of curiosities, among which the many salt springs may be justly reckoned.

" Salt at present is made at but five places, but the country abounds in springs or ticks, where it can be procured with equal ease.

" It sells from six to twelve shillings a bushel, but will in future days be much lower.

" The fortifications so frequently met with in this country, are the admiration of every traveller. They are mostly of a circular figure, on well chosen ground, and contiguous to water: near each of these is found a mount of earth, thrown up in form of a cone, and is generally proportionate to its adjacent fortification.

" When, or by whom these were

made, is equally uncertain. They appear to be very old. The timber growing on the walls, within the forts and ditches, has the appearance of that elsewhere.

" They must have been the efforts of a very numerous, industrious, and warlike people, and could not have been constructed without the use of iron tools. On searching, the mounts are found to contain a white substance resembling lime, which is supposed to have been human bones.

" Another kind of tombs are also found, though neither as large nor as frequent as the former, and are thus constructed: a level spot of ground is first chosen, and covered over with flat smooth stones, on which the corpses of the deceased are laid, which are separated from each other by flat stones set up edgewise, and in rows, at a distance sufficient to contain a human body in each partition. After the first layer or story is filled, the whole is floored over with the same materials as the bottom, and a second tier is deposited in the same manner as the first, and so on a third, fourth, and fifth, and perhaps a sixth story, and the monumental pile is finally completed with common stone, heaped up to a considerable height, terminating in a point.

" One of the most remarkable of these latter kind is found a few miles from a town in this country, called Lexington. Its base is sufficient to contain a dozen of human bodies, and is about five stories high.

" These cannot be as ancient as the former kind, the bones in them not being yet entirely dissolved. An arm bone was not long since found in the one near Lexington, full three inches longer than the arm of a man six feet high and of a proportionable thickness.

" To conclude, the distinguished bounties heaven conferred on this country, in soil, climate, healthfulness, and many other peculiarities, are real curiosities to the inhabitants of the northern states."

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A comparison between the prospects of advantage in the unsettled and unimproved parts of Pennsylvania, and in the new countries at Niagara, Kentucke, &c.

MANY counties in New England, New York, New Jer-

sey and Pennsylvania, being so full of people as to make it necessary for them to move to some place where lands are plentier and cheaper, it is of great consequence to the good people, who are about to move, to know which will be the best place to go to. A little comparison will be of use.

Niagara and Kentucke are so distant, that women and children must undergo excessive fatigue to arrive there, and many accidents must happen to horses and cattle on the way. It is also impossible to carry any furniture, without destroying the greater part of it. The new lands of Pennsylvania, especially those on Delaware, Schuylkill, Lehigh, and Susquehanna, are so nigh to the old counties of Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c. that a tender woman, or a family of children, can be taken there with great ease. Cattle and horses can also be easily driven there, and many articles of furniture and family stores may be transported at a very small expense.

The expense of going to Kentucke or Niagara, with a man's family and moveables, is so great, as to consume all the ready money that can be raised in these hard times. But from the many old and new roads in Pennsylvania, and the short distance between the thick settled counties, and Northampton, Luzerne, Northumberland, Huntingdon, &c. it is but a small expense to move a family from Jersey, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster county, &c. and the mover has cash and stores to spare after the journey.

When a man is going to Niagara and Kentucke, he and his family are in momentary danger of destruction and a cruel death from the Indians; and, if they arrive safe, they live constantly in the same danger, and we see that very frequent instances happen, of whole families being cut off. As there is neither navigation nor carting from Niagara or Kentucke to any sea port, the price of produce is almost nothing. It is very certain, that wheat has been bought in Kentucke, at ten pence per bushel, and a dollar blanket at the same time, colts half a guinea there. Of what advantage is a rich tract of land, if a very coarse and small blanket takes the price of twenty bushels of

wheat to buy it? The inland navigation of Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill, &c. and the old roads, with the new ones making every year, give the farmer an opportunity to buy the same kind of blanket at ten shillings, or a dollar and a half, and enable the miller and store-keeper to give five or six shillings for his wheat, so that he gets his blanket for one tenth of the wheat, which a Kentucke or Niagara farmer pays. The latter has no vent for his produce, while the clearing of rivers, cutting of canals, improving old roads, making new ones, and building of mills, will increase every year the demand for the produce of the farmer who shall settle within thirty or forty miles of the navigable waters of Susquehanna, Schuylkill, Lehigh and Delaware.

The Kentucke and Niagara lands will be on the frontier for a century to come; of course, whenever there is a quarrel or an open war between the united states on the one part, and any of the Europeans or the Indians on the other part, they will be the Flanders (or scene of war) on which both parties will contend. The grain, cattle, wagons, horses, &c. of the inhabitants will be taken by the armies of both friends and foes; for armies must be fed and supplied. Agriculture will be checked, the houses will be burnt and plundered, and the whole neighbourhood will be thrown into confusion and distress. The new lands in Pennsylvania are not in this exposed situation on this side the Ohio and Allegeny, and especially on this side the Susquehanna, or Schuylkill, Lehigh and Delaware.

The emigrants to Kentucke and Niagara can never hope to see their parents, their brothers, and sisters, and other relations and friends, whom they leave behind; but the ride from the new lands of Pennsylvania will be very short and easy in a sleigh with a good snow, in the leisure season of winter.

The education of children is a matter of great concern with every serious man. There will be no possibility of getting schools established in those far distant countries, where people are to be scattered—but in the Pennsylvania new settlements, so near the old counties of several states, it will be easy and certain.

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Every body knows how active and spirited the people of Pennsylvania, and of the city of Philadelphia, are in making new improvements. It must be very certain, therefore, that new roads, through the Pennsylvania lands, will be made every season, and new measures will be constantly taken, to improve the water-carriage of the several rivers in the state. These things will give great comfort and advantage to the farmers and owners of lands, and will induce people to come upon our lands from other thick settled states, and from foreign countries. No less than twelve new improvements are made and making this year. First, a road has been cut from a little beyond the Wind-gap in the blue mountain, up the Delaware, to the New York line, seventy miles. Secondly, a road has been cut from that road, beginning about ten miles on this side of the New York line, and running nearly west to Tioga and Chemung, sixty-two miles. Thirdly, a road is cutting from that road to the great bend of Susquehanna. Fourthly, a road is cutting from the Shingle-gap of the blue mountain, in Northampton county, through a body of fine lands on the north of Lehigh and Tobiiana. Fifthly, a road is cutting on the south side of Lehigh, between that river and Schuylkill, to Nescopeck. Sixthly, a sum of money, already raised by lottery, is to be laid out in improving the navigation of Schuylkill. Seventhly, a road has been begun, and a great part cut, between the east branch of Susquehanna, below Tioga, and the Loyal Sock creek, emptying into the west branch of Susquehanna. Eighthly, a sum of money, already raised by lottery, is to be laid out upon the Lancaster road. Ninthly, a capital canal is now cutting (by the people of Maryland) to open the navigation of the river Susquehanna, for large boats and rafts, into the Chesapeake bay. Tenthly, a road is cutting from the head of the north-west branch of Juniata to the Cone-magh, which runs into Allegeny. Eleventhly, a road between Shippensburg and Pittsburg. Twelfthly, a very important and extensive road from the west side of Susquehanna, beginning between the west branch of that river

and Juniata, and running through the heart of our state towards Toby's creek, quite to the Allegeny river and the donation lands, is now in agitation, and from the universal and great advantage of it, there is no doubt but it will be taken up by the new legislature before the spring.



Philadelphia, Jan. 5, 1789.

*At a meeting of the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes, unlawfully held in bondage—ordered, that the following certificates, communicated by dr. Rush, be published.**

THERE is now in this city, a black man, of the name of James Derham, a practitioner of physic, belonging to the Spanish settlement of New Orleans, on the Mississippi. This man was born in a family in this city, in which he was taught to read and write, and instructed in the principles of christianity. When a boy, he was transferred by his master to the late dr. John Kearly, jun. of this city, who employed him occasionally to compound medicines, and to perform some of the more humble acts of attention to his patients.

Upon the death of dr. Kearly, he became (after passing through several hands) the property of dr. George Well, surgeon to the fifteenth Brittish regiment, under whom, during the late war in America, he performed many of the mental duties of our profession. At the close of the war, he was sold by dr. Well to dr. Robert Dove, of New Orleans, who employed him as an assistant in his business;

NOTE.

* The abolition society in London, having requested the society for the abolition of slavery in Philadelphia, to transmit to them such accounts of mental improvement, in any of the blacks, as might fall under their notice, in order the better to enable them to contradict those who assert, that the intellectual faculties of the negroes are not capable of improvement equal to the rest of mankind, these certificates were accordingly forwarded to London, with the society's last letter, in addition to others heretofore sent.

in which capacity he gained so much of his confidence and friendship, that he consented to liberate him, after two or three years, upon easy terms. From dr. Derham's numerous opportunities of improving in medicine, he became so well acquainted with the healing art, as to commence practitioner at New Orleans, under the patronage of his last master. He is now about twenty-six years of age, has a wife, but no children, and does business to the amount of three thousand dollars a year.

I have conversed with him upon most of the acute and epidemic diseases of the country where he lives, and was pleased to find him perfectly acquainted with the modern simple mode of practice in those diseases. I expected to have suggested some new medicines to him; but he suggested many more to me. He is very modest and engaging in his manners. He speaks French fluently, and has some knowledge of the Spanish language. By some accident, although born in a religious family, belonging to the church of England, he was not baptised in his infancy; in consequence of which he applied, a few days ago, to bishop White, to be received by that ordinance into the episcopal church. The bishop found him qualified, both by knowledge and moral conduct, to be admitted to baptism, and this day performed the ceremony, in one of the churches in this city.

Philadelphia, November 14, 1788.

Account of a wonderful talent for arithmetical calculation, in an African slave, living in Virginia.

HERE is now living, about four miles from Alexandria, in the state of Virginia, a negro slave of seventy years old, of the name of Thomas Fuller, the property of mrs. Elizabeth Coxe. This man possesses a talent for arithmetical calculation; the history of which, I conceive, merits a place in the records of the human mind. He is a native of Africa, and can neither read nor write. Two gentlemen, natives of Pennsylvania, viz. William Hartshorne and Samuel Coates, men of probity and respectable characters, having heard, in travelling through the neighbourhood, in which this slave lived, of his extraor-

dinary powers in arithmetic, sent for him, and had their curiosity sufficiently gratified by the answers which he gave to the following questions.

First. Upon being asked, how many seconds there are in a year and a half, he answered in about two minutes, 47,304,000.

Second. On being asked, how many seconds a man has lived, who is seventy years, seventeen days and twelve hours old, he answered, in a minute and a half, 2,210,500,800.

One of the gentlemen, who employed himself with his pen in making these calculations, told him he was wrong, and that the sum was not so great as he had said—upon which the old man hastily replied, “ ‘tow, massa, you forget de leap year.’ ” On adding the seconds of the leap years to the others, the amount of the whole in both their sums agreed exactly.

Third. The following question was then proposed to him: suppose a farmer has six fows, and each fow has six female pigs, the first year, and they all increase in the same proportion, to the end of eight years, how many fows will the farmer then have? In ten minutes, he answered, 34,588,8c6. The difference of time between his answering this, and the two former questions, was occasioned by a trifling mistake he made from a misapprehension of the question.

In the presence of Thomas Wistar and Benjamin W. Morris, two respectable citizens of Philadelphia, he gave the amount of nine figures, multiplied by nine.

He informed the first-mentioned gentleman that he began his application to figures by counting ten, and that when he was able to count an hundred, he thought himself (to use his own words) “a very clever fellow.”

His first attempt after this was to count the number of hairs in a cow's tail, which he found to be 2872.

He next amused himself with counting, grain by grain, a bushel of wheat and a bushel of flax-seed.

From this he was led to calculate with the most perfect accuracy, how many shingles a house of certain dimensions would require to cover it, and how many posts and rails were necessary to inclose, and how many

grains of corn were necessary to sow a certain quantity of ground. From this application of his talents, his misfortunes has often derived considerable benefit.

At the time he gave this account of himself, he said his memory began to fail him—he was grey-headed, and exhibited several other marks of the weakness of old age—he had worked hard upon a farm during the whole of his life, but had never been intemperate in the use of spirituous liquors. He spoke with great respect of his mistress, and mentioned in a particular manner his obligations to her for refusing to sell him, which he had been tempted to do by offers of large sums of money, from several curious persons.

One of the gentlemen (Mr. Coates) having remarked in his presence, that it was a pity he had not had an education equal to his genius; he said, “no massa—it is best I got no learning; for many learned men be great fools.”



Rejoinder to a reply to the enquiry into the justice and policy of punishing murder by death.

[See *American Museum*, Vol. IV. p. 547.]

I HAVE read a reply, subscribed by Philochoras, to an enquiry into the justice and policy of punishing murder by death, published some time ago in the Museum. The author of it has attempted to justify public and capital punishments, as well as war, by the precepts of the gospel. Let not my readers suppose that this author is a Socinian—a sceptic—or a heathen—or that he is in any degree unfriendly to Christianity. Far from it—he is a minister of the gospel,—and a man of a worthy private as well as public character.

This author has accused me of vanity in presuming to contradict the received opinions of mankind, and loads my arguments with the epithets of weakness—ignorance—and nonsense. He allows me some knowledge in my profession—but will not admit that I possess a single talent of a divine or legislator. In answer to these charges, I shall reply that I believe our author to be actuated in defending a vulgar error by a sincere desire of doing good. I acknowledge, further, that

he discovers some ingenuity, and a good deal of learning in his essay; but I cannot return the compliment he has paid me, by admitting that he possesses much exclusive knowledge in his profession. On the contrary, I believe him to be much better qualified, from his temper and principles, to execute with reputation and integrity, a military commission, than to explain the doctrines of the Christian religion.

The objection to private punishments will receive the best refutation from the opinions of the citizens of Philadelphia, respecting the present penal law of Pennsylvania. Where is the man, besides our author, that is its advocate?—Has it answered any one end of punishment?—Have crimes been less frequent, since our streets have been obstructed by criminals, and has any one of the unfortunate subjects of these punishments discovered at any time a sign of contrition or amendment? On the contrary, have not our citizens learned to contemplate their sufferings with the same indifference, that they would view the spectacles of the ring, or the cock-pit? and is not the very atmosphere, which surrounds them, rendered contagious by the effluvia and mixture of their vices?*

Our author proceeds next to assert that the objection to the punishment of death for murder proceeded originally from the Socinian objection to the great doctrine of the atonement. Here I must acknowledge my obligations to our author for having furnished me with a new argument in favour of my principles. I embrace with my whole soul the doctrine of the atonement. I contemplate with admiration on the purity and perfection of that law, which made death necessary to satisfy its demands. In this demand, let the divine law stand alone. Let

NOTE.

* The quotation from Timothy, v. 20—“Them that sin, rebuke before all, that all may fear”—proves nothing in the present case. St. Paul speaks of ecclesiastical admonitions, addressed, in general terms, to a number of persons,—and not of corporal punishments, or of death, both of which, when publicly inflicted, operate very differently upon society from church censures.

no offences, committed against man, ever require such a costly sacrifice as human life. Let no human law ever usurp an equality with the pure and perfect law of God, by exacting the "shedding of blood" for the punishment or remission of any crime. The punishment of murder and other crimes by death, among the Jews, favours this idea of the exclusive demand of the divine law upon human life, as an expiation of sin. The government of the Jews was a theocracy. The crime of murder was therefore not only an offence against society, but a sin against God. It consequently required the punishment of death.

The arguments against the punishment of murder by death, from reason, remain on an immovable foundation. Our author has contradicted, but has not refuted one of them. I affirmed in my former essay, that the punishment of murder by death had been abolished in several of the European nations. I wish, for the honour of our author's protelion, he had doubted of this assertion with more of the meek and gentle spirit of a christian. To satisfy him upon this subject, I shall subjoin the following extracts from authorities which are now before me.—In the instructions to the commissioners, appointed to frame a new code of laws for the Russian empire, by Catharine II. the present empress of Russia, I find the following pallage. I take great pleasure in transcribing it, as the sentiments it contains do so much honour not only to the female understanding, but to the human mind.

"Proofs from facts demonstrate to us, that the frequent use of capital punishment never mended the morals of a people. Therefore if I prove the death of a citizen to be neither useful nor necessary to society in general, I shall confute those who rise up against humanity. In a reign of peace and tranquility, under a government established with the united wills of a whole people, in a state well fortified against external enemies, and protected within by strong supports; that is, by its own internal strength and virtuous sentiments, rooted in the minds of the citizens, there can be no necessity for taking away the life of a citizen. It is not the excess of

severity, nor the destruction of the human species, that produces a powerful effect upon the hearts of the citizens, but the continued duration of the punishment. The death of a malefactor is not so efficacious a method of deterring from wickedness, as the example, continually remaining, of a man who is deprived of his liberty, that he might repair, during a life of labour, the injury he has done to the community. The terror of death, excited by the imagination, may be more strong, but has not force eno' to resist that oblivion which is so natural to mankind. It is a general rule, that rapid and violent impressions upon the human mind, distract and give pain, but do not operate long upon the memory. That a punishment, therefore, might be conformable with justice, it ought to have such a degree of severity as might be sufficient to deter people from committing the crime. Hence I presume to affirm, that there is no man, who, upon the least degree of reflexion, would put the greatest possible advantages he might flatter himself with, from a crime, on the one side, into the balance against a life—protracted, under a total privation of liberty, on the other."

In a British review for the present year, I find a short account of the code of penal laws lately enacted by the emperor of Germany. This enlightened monarch has divided imprisonment into mild—severe—and rigorous. For the crime of murder he inflicts the punishment of rigorous imprisonment—which, from its duration and other terrifying circumstances that attend it, is calculated to produce more beneficial effects in preventing murder, than all the executions that have ever taken place in any age or country.

I derived my information of the abolition of capital punishments in Sweden and Tuscany, from two foreigners of distinction, who lately visited the united states. The one was an Italian nobleman,—the other was a captain in the Swedish navy—both of whom commanded every where respect and attachment for their abilities and virtues.

It is true, this happy revolution in favour of justice and humanity, in the instances that have been mentioned,

did not originate in a convocation or a synod. It may either be ascribed to the light of the gospel shining in "darkness which comprehended it not"—or to the influence of sound and cultivated reason,—for reason and religion have the same objects. They are in no one instance opposed to each other. On the contrary, reason is nothing but imperfect religion, and religion is nothing but perfect reason.

It becomes christians to beware how far they condemn the popular virtue of humanity,—because it is recommended by deists, or by persons who do not profess to be bound by the strict obligations of christianity.—Voltaire first taught the princes of Europe the duty of religious toleration. The duke of Sully has demonstrated the extreme folly of war, and has proved that when it has been conducted with the most glory, it never added an atom to national happiness. The marquis of Beccaria has established a connexion between the abolition of capital punishments, and the order and happiness of society. Should any thing be found in the scriptures, contrary to these discoveries, it is easy to foresee that the principles of the deists and the laws of modern legislators will soon have a just preference to the principles and precepts of the gospel.

Our author attempts to support his sanguinary tenets by an appeal to revelation. And here I shall make two preliminary remarks.

1. There is no opinion so absurd or impious, that may not be supported by solitary texts of scripture. To collect the sense of the bible upon any subject, we must be governed by its whole spirit and tenor.

2. The design of christianity, at its first promulgation, was to reform the world by its spirit, rather than by positive precepts.

Our Saviour does not forbid slavery in direct terms—but he indirectly bears a testimony against it, by commanding us to do to others what we would have them, in like circumstances, do to us. He did not aim to produce a sudden revolution in the affairs of men. He knew too well the power and efficacy of his religion for that purpose. It was unnecessary therefore to subject it to additional opposition,

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by a direct attack upon the prejudices and interests of mankind, both of which were closely interwoven with the texture of their civil governments.

After these remarks, I shall only add, that the declaration of St. Paul before Festus, respecting the punishment of death*, and the speech of the dying thief on the cross †, only prove that the punishment of death was agreeable to the Roman law, but they by no means prove that they were sanctioned by the gospel. Human life was extremely cheap under the Roman government. Of this we need no further proof, than the head of John the Baptist forming a part of a royal entertainment. From the frequency of public executions among those people, the sword was considered as an emblem of public justice—but to suppose from this appeal to a sign of justice, or from our Saviour's parable of the destruction of the husbandmen, that capital punishments are approved of in the new testament, is as absurd as it would be to suppose that horseracing was a christian exercise, from St. Paul's frequent allusions to the Olympic games.

The declaration of the barbarians upon seeing the snake fasten upon St. Paul's hand, proves nothing but the ignorance of those uncivilized people. I deny the consent of all nations to the punishment of death for murder—but if it were true, it only proves the universality of the ignorance and depravity of man. Revenge, dissimulation, and even theft, prevail among all the nations in the world,—and yet who will dare to assert that these vices are just, or necessary to the order or happiness of society?

(Remainder in our next.)

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The visitant. No. viii.

Remarks on the dress of the ladies.

I TOLD Flavilla the other day, that I had a mind to write my next paper on dress. Do, says she; it will

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* "For if I be an offender, and have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die." *Actis xxv. 11.*

† "We indeed" suffer "justly: for we receive the due reward of our deeds." *Luke xxiii. 41.*

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be a very excellent subject, and I hope you will treat it in a proper manner. You will not assume the air of a stern philosopher, and tell us, that the improvement of our minds should be our only care: you will permit us to bestow some attention upon our persons. Consider that there is something generous in our love of dress: for, to tell you a secret, we indulge that propensity, not for our own sake, but for the sake of the men. They, therefore, should be the last to decry against it. One of the ancient philosophers, I have been informed, was so kind as to allow us royalty; but even he refused us force to support it. You cannot blame us, then, if we have recourse to art, and endeavour to accomplish in this manner, what we are not suffered to accomplish in the other.

After reflecting on Flavilla's sentiments, I could not forbear thinking that there was a good deal of justice in them: Perhaps this might be partly owing to the secret influence, which, I feel, every thing spoken by a fine lady derives from the speaker. But I am persuaded that my assent did not proceed wholly from this principle. Impartial reason likewise concurred in determining my opinion.

It is a maxim among the critics, that, though the sentiments of a writer should be natural, yet they should represent nature in her most beautiful appearance; and drawn with all her graces and ornaments; that some circumstances should be placed in the most obvious light, others should be shaded, and others entirely concealed. From the judicious observation of these rules, results that exquisite perfection in composition, to which some have given the appellation of *select nature*. Why may not these reflexions be applied to dress? There is a real resemblance between the subjects, and one is frequently illustrated by metaphors and similes borrowed from the other.

But treat the goddess like a modest fair,
Not over-dress, nor leave her wholly bare;
Let not each beauty ev'ry where be spy'd,
Where half the skill is decently to bide. *Pope.*
Why should the pains, which a lady

takes in adorning her person, be ascribed to vanity and littleness of soul; while the poet is celebrated for his genius, invention, and *tafel*, discovered in labours of a similar kind? For my own part, I examine dress by the rules of criticism, and where I am secure from the imputation of pedantry, cite Aristotle and Quintilian in support of my observations.

A second rule, established among the critics, is, that the language and composition should be suited to the subject; and for this reason, Longinus has censured an author, who wrote a treatise on the sublime in a groveling style. Every one of my readers anticipates me in applying this rule; and in acknowledging that its application is attended with peculiar propriety. If the dress should be suited to the subject, who will deny that the dress of the ladies should be elegant? They have the master-piece of nature to adorn: its ornament deserves their attention.

Another reason why the ladies should be encouraged to distinguish themselves by their elegance of dress, is suggested to me by several laws, which I remember to have read, either obliging or alluring the men to marry. I do not recollect ever to have met with any expedient of this nature used with regard to the women. They seem always to have entertained just sentiments of that state.

Where love his golden shafts employs, and lights His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings. *Milton.*
But as our sex have been sometimes very faulty in this particular, it is proper to entice them to their duty by every gentle and winning contrivance. That of dress has, I believe, a very considerable influence; and accordingly, in one of the laws enacted for promoting marriage, several alterations were ordered to be made in the garments of the unmarried ladies. If any one doubts the tendency of an handsome dress to excite agreeable emotions, let him reflect on the disgust, with which he beholds a flattern. This speculation will, in all probability, be very disagreeable to fathers and husbands. Must we, say they, inculcate to our wives and daughters the needful lessons of frugality? Must

we point out to them the bad effects of profusion? And shall all our prudent instructions be lost by means of one, who flatters the giddy sex in their folly, and justifies the reluctance, with which they receive, and the stubbornness, with which they oppose, our faving maxims. Truly, mr. Visitant, we suspect that you are unacquainted with the economy and expences of a family; and that your ears have never been flunned with unceasing clamours for jewels, and silks, and gauzes, and laces, and a thousand other articles of female extravagance.

Without discovering whether I have had experience in the economy and the expences of a family, or not, I shall inform the husbands, that I am strongly inclined to congratulate them on the subject of their complaints; and that, in my opinion, what they murmur at, as a grievance, should be regarded by them as an instance of their good fortune. Your wife, I hope, has no ambition of making foreign conquests: the fair sex dres not for themselves: from what principle, then, does her attachment to dres proceed? From a tender concern to please you. She has heard of the inconstancy of man: she knows it may be a difficult task to preserve your affection, which, however, she is solicitous, above all things, to preserve: her fond passion represents you posseſſed of every accomplishment: she cannot believe you intenſible to elegance: she will not permit herself to suspect that any elegance can give you so much pleasure, as the elegance of your wife: can she, then, be blamed—I make yourself judge—can she, then, be blamed, if she is anxious to appear lovely in your eyes? You are her greatest ornament: her proudest wish is to be yours. Where so much love—such an earnest desire of pleasing is the cause, will you repine at the effects? They cannot be dangerous: the same principle, that occasions them, will prevent their becoming destructive to your intereſts. When I have ſeen a married woman neglect to dres in a manner ſuitable to her age, and to the rank and fortune of her husband, I have always conſidered this circumstance as a melancholy ſymptom of an aversion, or, at leaſt, of an indifference, ſubſtituting between them.

Slothfulness and aversion in the married state may mutually produce each other; or they may be concomitant effects, arifing from ſome other caufe, which produces both. My reaſoning, it is evident, does not extend, nor is it my deſign it ſhould extend, to juſtify the conduct of ſome unnatural and inconfiderate wives, who, by their unbounded extravagance, reduce themſelves, their husbands, and their children, to misery and ruin. My pen is not proſtituted to write in defence of ſuch.

The remonſtrances of fathers muſt be heard with greater indulgence. Parental affection is more universal than conjuſal affection; and therefore it is not likely that fathers will be fo apt to complain without reaſon as husbands. The ladies frequently, tho' very erroneouſly, think it a matter of greater importance to gain, than to keep, a conqueſt; and therefore it is natural to ſuppoſe that daughters give greater occaſion for complaints than wives. These conſiderations induce me to guard what I have ſaid concerning dres, with ſome reſtrictions—but ſuch as will not be leſs agreeable to the taste of my ſenſible fair readers, than to the frugality of their parents.

As dres deserves attention, because it adorns the beauties of the perſon, ſo the beauties of the perſon excite our love, because they are connected, or (which is the ſame thing) becaue we think them connected, with the beauties of the mind. However addiſed we are ſuppoſed to be to ſenſual objeſts, yet if we trace the channels of our pleaſures with accuracy, we ſhall find that they originally ſpring from mental ſources. Now, if the beauties of the perſon are connected with thoſe of the mind, and become motives of our love, by means of this connexiſon; it is evident, that where a lady, by her dres, betrays any thing unamiable or imprudent in her diſpoſition, ſhe counteracts her own purpoſes, and is diſapproved by us for thoſe very methods, which ſhe takes to recommend herſelf to our eſteem. The winning graces of the mind ſhould nev'er be ſacrificed to the leſs powerful attractions of the perſon or dres; eſpecially as theſe attractions derive all their influence from thoſe graces. If

a lady dresses with greater splendor than is suitable to her rank and circumstances; she presents us with a contrast much to her disadvantage; her inability to support the cost of so much finery, is hinted at; and the praises, which we would otherwise give to her taste and elegance, are checked by our censures on her imprudence and vain ambition.

A lady appears to equal disadvantage, if she places her importance in her dress, and demands our admiration and respect, as a tribute to her gay attire. When she is altogether wrapt up in the contemplation of her own charms—when she surveys the several parts of her dress with a complacency impossible to be concealed—when, at every interval, she looks around her to observe whether the eyes of the company are not fixed on what she so much admires, how do we despise the empty trifler! We suppose the commendations, which she is anxious to hear; and we disdain the little soul, which is capable of feeling such a contemptible anxiety. On the other hand, we praise a lady who dresses with skill, and yet seems wholly insensible to the effects of her ingenuity. The less her dress is the object of her attention, the more it becomes the object of ours. We likewise admire the dignity of her sentiments, while we observe that she is above valuing herself on inferior accomplishments, or inferior embellishments.

I shall conclude, with admonishing the fair sex to distinguish between elegance and superfluous finery in dress. Here it will again be proper to apply a maxim established among the critics, viz. that the graces of composition should be chaste, and that the writer should use them with a sparing hand. In dress, as in poetry, a supernumerary crowd of ornaments distract the attention, breaks the general design into a number of incoherent parts, and renders it impossible for the mind to arrange them in such a manner, as, by the united result, to form the idea of a perfect whole. When the drapery of a picture is too rich, it lessens the dignity of the principal figure.

Philadelphia, March 21, 1768.

The Worcester Speculator*, No. 1.

Remarks on female delicacy.

FEMALE delicacy is a subject upon which my thoughts delight to ruminant, and upon which I shall now attempt to form a speculation. And although I am conscious of being unequal to a task which requires so delicate a hand, such refinement of sentiment, and such purity of thought, as well as such elegance of language, yet my fair readers will forgive the attempt, when I assure them, that I wish for no higher satisfaction on this side heaven, than to notice their advancement in mental and moral, as well as in external perfection, and to contribute to it; and to share in that happiness which such perfection will infuse to themselves and to the rest of the world.

It ill becomes him, who is born of a woman, to speak degradingly of the sex. It less becomes him, who is not only born of a woman, but is indebted, in a considerable degree, to female attention and affiduity, to female conversation and example, and to female tenderness and delicacy, that his mind was early opened to intelligence, and his appetites and passions have been inured to control; that his sentiments have been refined, his manners polished, his steps withheld from danger, and directed to safety and wisdom, his bosom relieved of its cares, and his life illuminated with pleasures. And least of all does it become him to disparage the sex, who, to his personal obligations, can add his philanthropy; who professes to be a friend of mankind; who knows the influence which woman has upon man, and the hand she has, or might have, in promoting the virtue and happiness of families, of larger communities, and of the world.

Our omnipotent Creator, whose wisdom and benignity shine conspicuous in all his works, has formed the female sex, if I may be indulged the expression, with a delicate hand. The slender texture of their bodies,

NOTE.

* The printer, not being yet possessed of the whole of these valuable essays, is obliged to alter the arrangement of them, which, he hopes, will not prove unsatisfactory, either to the writer or the readers.

the softness of their features, the tunefulness of their voices, the general placidness of their tempers, and tenderness of their hearts, together with a similar niceness in their intellectual powers, denote a characteristic delicacy, with which their education and employments, their sentiments and views, their conversation and behaviour, and ours with and towards them, should exactly correspond. So that my idea of female delicacy is complex and comprehensive. It includes whatever is delicate in the structure of their frames, in the faculties of their minds, in the disposition of their hearts, in their sentiments, in their tales, in their words, and in their actions. But while it excludes not that delicacy in their bodies and minds, which is merely natural, it regards principally that which is acquired; which is the effect of culture and education; which results from an early and assiduous care to preserve and establish the native innocence and purity of the heart, to correct and govern the passions, to refine and elevate the sentiments, and to render the conversation and manners more and more engaging. In short, the delicacy which I mean, and which I wish to recommend, is an inward sense of propriety, which regulates and beautifies the whole conduct; an unfulled and inflexible virtue and sweetness of temper beaming forth in every thing that is spoken, and in every thing that is done. This will heighten the delicacy of the features and air—for it is loveliness itself.

Every moral writer and thinker knows, and every moral liver feels, that there is something so beautiful in virtue as will attract affection, and something so deformed and ugly in vice, as will excite aversion in every rightly tempered breast.

" Vice is a monster of so frightful
" mein,
" As, to be hated, needs but to be
" seen."

It argues therefore an indelicacy of mind, to cherish perverse humours, and give way to faulty propensities. The more delicate the taste of the soul is, the greater is its abhorrence of every thing that borders on vice, or favours of impiety. The heart, which is attuned to the refined exercises of virtue, of devotion, and religion, and

which cannot consent to any deficiency in its gratitude and obedience to God, or in justice and benevolence to man, discovers a delicacy superior to the most exquisite taste in economy, cookery and embroidery, or in music, painting, and poetry. The mind that does not feel and acknowledge its obligations—that does not with to possess and exercise all the virtues and graces which are prescribed for the adorning of human nature, and for the attainment of perfection and felicity—is as deficient in taste and delicacy, as it is in goodness.

Such are my ideas of female delicacy: and though they may be thought by some to be too refined or diffuse, yet it must be owned that a behaviour in the sex, corresponding with such ideas—a course of conduct formed upon such maxims, will exalt these characters, add a lustre to all their other charms, and secure their hearts from seduction, their lives from blemish, and their bosoms from remorse. And it is easier to conceive than to describe the happy alteration which such sentiments and manners would produce in the other sex, both as to exalted morals and rational enjoyment. Vice and misery would be greatly diminished, virtue and happiness proportionably advanced.

Viewing the subject in a light of so much importance, I find I cannot comprehend all that might be said with advantage upon it, in one speculation. Perhaps, therefore, in some future number, I may suggest some cautions against a false delicacy, and point out some deficiencies in a few female characters, in that which is true. In the mean time, it is the wish of my heart, that wives, mothers, and daughters, would peruse, with candour and docility, the hints already offered, and, by reducing them to practice, try the experiment how amiable and happy they will render them. Worcester, Massachusetts, July, 1788.

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The friend. No. 1. On essay writing.
Written by the rev. T. Dwight, under
the signature of J. Littlejohn, esq.
*Non sibi, sed toto genitum se credere
mundo.*

AMONG the various compositions

useful to mankind, few have pleased, or improved them, more than miscellaneous essays. The reasons are obvious. They occupy subjects in which most persons feel themselves interested; those subjects, and the method of treating them, being greatly diversified, gratify the love of variety: the style is generally agreeable by its familiarity and perspicuity, and the sentiments, by their application to the concerns of life: and as each essay is of a moderate length, and detached from the others, the mind is not cloyed by prolixity, nor wearied by that close attention, which long treatises, intimately connected in their parts, necessarily require. For these and other similar reasons, men, even of the first abilities, have chosen in this way to communicate their thoughts to the public, especially on the affairs of common life. At the same time, the public have given them full credit for descending from sublime speculations to the level of the general apprehension. Addison owes his principal reputation for fine writing to the spectator, and Johnson derives his highest character from the rambler.

Essays of this nature have also the peculiar advantage of coming to the reader in a very easy manner. The whole expense of them is moderate, and accrues so gradually as scarcely to be perceived. Hence they are purchased with much less inconvenience, than any other production of equal utility. In this method, knowledge and amusement are diffused through every condition of life; and the mind, which is capable of improvement, enjoys the means of it even in the most confined circumstances.

Many of the British collections of this kind possess a high degree of merit, and will probably never be excelled, perhaps never rivalled, by any succeeding efforts. Good sense, knowledge of the world, as well as of books, with admirable effusions of a humorous and an elegant imagination, abound in them. They are replenished with just maxims of criticism, and advantageous precepts for the conduct of life. But amid all the praise which is due to them, it may be justly observed, that the subjects, concerning which such compositions may be profitably written, are by no

means exhausted; and that, though many of the truths contained in them, are capable of universal application, many others are immediately directed to that state of society, and those circumstances of life, by which the writers were surrounded. This conduct, it is to be acknowledged, was dictated by the wisdom of the writers: for there were no subjects, concerning which their sentiments would have been so generally just, nor were there any, in which their readers would have felt a similar interest. No observations would have gained them equal applause, or given their readers equal satisfaction.

But a part of the pleasure and instruction, which a British reader, in the age of queen Anne, derived from the perusal of the spectator, is lost to an American reader of the present age. The state of society in London was widely different from the state of society in an American village. So different is the state of things, presented to the view by real life here, from that which is presented there, that the most just and applicable observations, made on this subject there, would here, in many instances, find little, and in others no application. Yet from real life, almost all valuable observations, concerning the conduct of life, are drawn. Many facts, also, to which allusions are made in those writings, are unknown, or partially known, to the American reader. To him, therefore, the propriety of such allusions must be lost. If that be thought an imperfection in that celebrated paper, it is an imperfection incident to all valuable performances of this kind. The most useful sentiments concerning human life, are those, of which the most particular application can be made; but these, being accurately drawn from manners, must vary as manners vary, and to readers, in succeeding ages, or distant countries, must lose a part of their pertinence or beauty.

If the above observations are just, a sufficient field yet remains to those who wish to communicate their remarks to the public through this channel. Every age, every country, every stage, in the progress of society, opens such a field to the attentive observer of life. In every diversifica-

tion of manners, a sufficient variety of topics will present itself, to preclude any necessity of tedious repetitions. The human character, in its variegations, is a topic to the human eye literally boundless; and from it may be drawn sentiments, and methods of exhibiting them, ever new, various, pleasing, and important.

The present state of society, in this part of America, is replete with topics of this nature. The entire novelty of our circumstances is too manifest to require illustration. The equal division of property, the universal diffusion of knowledge, the moral call of our manners, the absolute personal independence of every individual, confinement of reputation and importance to personal qualities, furnish writers of every class, especially writers of miscellaneous essays, with as fair a field of reflexion, as was perhaps ever furnished. If an essayist will merely open his eyes, and attend to what is passing, he cannot be at a loss for themes of observation, either pleasurable or improving. Every age may be considered as claiming the luxuriations of the ingenious; but such a state of things forms a peculiar claim to them. It furnishes the most happy supply of the necessary topics of entertainment, and exhibits the fairest prospect of usefulness in the character of the readers.

Several attempts of this kind have been made in different parts of America. In various instances, the writers appear to have been more deficient in the mode of conducting their writings, than in genius or knowledge. They have not drawn their remarks so much from life, as from books and speculation. Such remarks, however ingenious, will rarely be interesting. Most men feel that, and that only, which has some real existence, and look with indifference on the most beautiful mere speculation. Essayists will ever find themselves disappointed in the reception, with which their remarks on human life meet, unless they are drawn from life. Men must have seen the original, before they will be much pleased with the copy.

The reader will, before this time, have perceived that this paper is designed as the beginning of such a series of essays. The title, in the wri-

ter's opinion at least, will not unaturally express their design; and, as he hopes, will not be an improper description of his own character. It is intended in its most universal sense. The writer wishes his readers to consider him as a friend to each of them, and to the whole human race; as a sincere friend, who would consult their interests rather than their inclinations; who, when those interests required it, would not hesitate to administer an honest reproof, or to communicate advice, which, to the ear of prejudice, would sound less softly than the silver voice of flattery.

At the same time, he would wish to be viewed as a familiar friend, who would advise, not dictate; and whose lessons will be communicated in the style of affability, and not of dogmatism.

In the course of these essays, the utmost latitude will be used, in consonance with the general design, and with the character the writer has assumed. He challenges the liberty of being grave or gay at pleasure, of laughing at folly, or stigmatizing vice, and of mingling scientific and critical observations with his remarks on life and manners. It will be his aim to present the public with new topics, or new modes of considering them, and especially to exhibit a series of sentiments, suited to the present state of society in this country. This field, although a most interesting one to Americans, has been hitherto, unless he is deceived, almost wholly unoccupied.

In the character of a friend to mankind, it will be rationally supposed, that he wishes for the assistance of the ingenious and benevolent, to accomplish the entertainment he designs them. Such assistance, indeed, he expects from his own immediate circle of friends, and pleases himself with the idea of presenting, occasionally, their speculations to the public. In the mean time, he invites the correspondence of all persons who have leisure to make, and patience to write, observations on life and manners; and who feel such an interest in the advancement of taste, science, and virtue, as to be willing to join their efforts for these valuable purposes.

Newhaven, March 22, 1786.

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New-York, Virginia, South and North-Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland: by the rev. Nicholas Collin, D. D. & M. A. P. S.

NUMBER 1.

IN the history of the united states, the present era is probably more important than any that has been or ever shall be. The declaration of independence, in 1776, was a bold measure; and its confirmation by the peace, in 1783, a glorious event. But if this independence is not secured by a solid union, fully adequate to the political and civil happiness of the states, it is at the best very doubtful, whether a longer dependence on Great-Britain would have been more calamitous than this premature political existence, fraught, in its very stamina, with disease and destruction. I shall not repeat the melancholy chime of anarchy, civil war, and foreign conquest, rung through the whole continent by the feeling and sagacious apprehensions of so many Americans, justly celebrated for political wisdom and patriotic virtue; but only beg leave to present one reflexion: neither the united states, nor any other part of the globe, are yet civilized enough to settle national disputes in the amicable way of reason and equity. Alas! the tinsels of ambition and avarice create frequent and furious contests, which are decided by the sword, that *ultima ratio* of kings and republics. In some future stage of civilization, a close union of the states will be less necessary; but till that happy period arrives, it is undoubtedly a sacred object with every man of sense and virtue.

The federal constitution has, for near a year, undergone the most critical investigation, in the public prints and the conventions of the states. Politicians have been entertained with a grand and interesting spectacle—thirteen sister-republics debating with all the force of argument, all the powers of oratory, on the form of a common government: this form embraced by great numbers as the guardian angel of America, sent from heaven to save

her from impending ruin: detested by others as a fiend come from the regions of darkness to enslave a vast continent: the constitution rejected by two; and adopted in some of the others, even great states, by small majorities, and with a preluding request of many capital amendments.

That an object of such awful magnitude should be agitated with anxious hopes and fears—that, held up in every point of view, it should to so many eyes, present an appearance somewhat different—is a natural and pleasing symptom, of that keen and solicitous love of liberty, which is the vital principle of republics. But such difference of opinions on first principles, is really very extraordinary: and the retaking by the left hand what was given by the right, is a mark of jealousy inconsistent with the most necessary energy of government. The federal constitution will, no doubt, like all other political institutions, require alterations in the process of time. The trial of such a complex machine, in operations partly novel, may also, very probably, point out some very important amendments. But if no essential fault can as yet be discovered, it must be very unwise to undo what has been done with so much difficulty—to frustrate the sanguine hopes and anxious desires of the people—to irritate the numbers that have suffered so long under the cruel tyranny of anarchy—to throw so many who pant for speedy relief, into utter despair—to lock up or banish the little circulating specie and credit, that barely keep alive our expiring trade—to confirm foreign nations in their contempt of our imbecility, and want of faith—to prevent all beneficial intercourse with any of them—and to urge those, who are creditors, to violent demands of public and private debts—to do all this, would be absolute folly and madness.

Though a majority in congress may be wise enough not to advise a reform of the new government, before it really becomes expedient, yet a persuasion that the present form is pernicious, unjust, and dangerous, must render great numbers of people dissatisfied—make many worthy men bad federal citizens—weaken the union, and impair its benefits—perhaps en-

ble some daring spirits to raise insurrections.

While prejudiced electors setter their representatives with injunctions to procure visionary amendments, it is to be feared, that many excellent persons will decline a trust so incompatible with their feelings—and that the mercenary and timid will sacrifice honour and conscience to popularity.

In a candid examination of the proposed amendments, we shall find that some are repugnant to an effectual confederacy; others of dubious utility; and the most specious, improper, until the union is firmly established, and experience has decided between opposite theories.

Philadelphia, October 21, 1788.

(To be continued.)



Declaration and resolves of the county of Suffolk, in Massachusetts, agreed to on the 6th day of September, in the year 1774.

WHEREAS the power, but not the justice, the vengeance, but not the wisdom of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity: and whereas this, then savage and uncultivated desert, was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valour of those our venerable progenitors; to us they bequeathed the dear-bought inheritance; to our care and protection, they consigned it; and the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring. On the fortitude, on the wisdom, and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions. If a boundless extent of continent, swarming with millions, will tamely submit to live, move, and have their being at the arbitrary will of a licentious minister, they basely yield to voluntary slavery, and future generations shall load their memories with incessant execrations. On the other hand, if we arrest the hand that would ransack our pockets—if we disarm the parricide

who points the dagger to our bosoms—if we nobly defeat that fatal edict which proclaims a power to frame laws for us in all cases whatsoever, thereby entailing the endless and numberless curses of slavery upon us, our heirs, and their heirs forever—if we successfully resist that unparalleled usurpation of unconstitutional power, whereby our capital is robbed of the means of life; whereby the streets of Boston are thronged with military executioners; whereby our coasts are lined and harbours crowded with ships of war; whereby the charter of the colony, that sacred barrier against the encroachments of tyranny, is mutilated; and in effect annihilated; whereby a murderous law is framed to shelter villains from the hands of justice; whereby the unalienable and inestimable inheritance which we derived from nature, the constitution of Britain, and the privileges warranted to us in the charter of the province, are totally wrecked, annulled, and vacated. posterity will acknowledge that virtue which preferred them free, and happy; and while we enjoy the rewards and blessings of the faithful, the torrent of panegyrists will roll our reputations to that latest period, when the streams of time shall be absorbed in the abyss of eternity. Therefore we have resolved and do resolve,

1. That whereas his majesty George the third is the rightful successor to the throne of Great Britain, and justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and, agreeable to compact, of the English colonies in America—therefore, we, the heirs and successors of the first planters of this colony, do clearly acknowledge the said George the third to be our rightful sovereign, and that said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.

2. That it is an indispensable duty which we owe to God, our country, ourselves, and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to maintain, defend, and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled, and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.

3. That the late acts of the British

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parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the established form of government in this colony, and for screening the most flagitious violators of the laws of the province from a legal trial, are gross infractions of those rights, to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British constitution, and the charter of the province.

4. That no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the acts above-mentioned, but that they be rejected, as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.

5. That so long as the justices of our superior court of judicature, court of assize, &c. and inferior court of common pleas in this county, are appointed, or hold their places, by any other tenure than that which the charter and the laws of the province direct, they must be considered as under undue influence, and are therefore unconstitutional officers, and as such, no regard ought to be paid to them by the people of this county.

6. That if the justices of the superior court of judicature, court of assize, &c. justices of the court of common pleas, or of the general sessions of the peace, shall sit and act during their present disqualified state, this county will support and bear harmless all sheriffs and their deputies, constables, jurors, and other officers, who shall refuse to carry into execution the orders of said courts; and, as far as possible to prevent the many inconveniences which must be occasioned by a suspension of the courts of justice, we do most earnestly recommend it to all creditors, that they shew all reasonable and even generous forbearance to their debtors; and to all debtors, to pay their just debts with all possible speed, and if any disputes, relative to debts or trespasses, shall arise, which cannot be settled by the parties, we recommend it to them to submit all such causes to arbitration; and it is our opinion, that the contending parties, or either of them, who shall refuse so to do, ought to be considered as co-operating with the enemies of this country.

7. That it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, constables, and all other officers, who have public mo-

nies in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer, until the civil government of the province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, or until it shall otherwise be ordered by the proposed provincial congress.

8. That the persons who have accepted seats at the council board, by virtue of a mandamus from the king, in conformity to the late act of the British parliament, entitled an act for the regulating the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country, and have thereby given great and just offence to this people; therefore resolved, that this county do recommend it to all persons, who have so highly offended, by accepting said departments, and have not already publicly resigned their seats at the council board, to make public resignations of their places at said board, on or before the 20th day of this instant, September; and that all persons refusing so to do, shall from and after said day, be considered by this county as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country.

9. That the fortifications, begun, and now carrying on, upon Boston neck, are justly alarming to this county, and give us reason to apprehend some hostile intention against that town, more especially as the commander in chief has, in a very extraordinary manner, removed the powder from the magazine at Charlestown, and has also forbidden the keeper of the magazine at Boston, to deliver out to the owners the powder which they had lodged in said magazine.

10. That the late act of parliament, for establishing the roman catholic religion and the French laws in that extensive country, now called Quebec, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the protestant religion, and to the civil rights and liberties of all America; and, therefore, as men and protestant christians, we are indispensably obliged to take all proper measures for our security.

11. That whereas our enemies have flattered themselves, that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave, and hardy people, from

an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline, we therefore for the honour, defence, and security of this county and province, advise, as it has been recommended to take away all commissions from the officers of the militia, that those who now hold commissions, or such other persons, be elected in each town, as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity for that purpose, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants of those towns and districts, who are qualified, do use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do for that purpose, appear under arms at least once every week.

12. That during the present hostile appearances on the part of Great Britain, notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which we most sensibly resent, yet, nevertheless, from our affection to his majesty, which we have at all times evidenced, we are determined to act merely upon the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer.

13. That as we understand it has been in contemplation to apprehend sundry persons of this county, who have rendered themselves conspicuous in contending for the violated rights and liberties of their countrymen, we do recommend, should such an audacious measure be put in practice, to seize and keep in safe custody, every servant of the present tyrannical and unconstitutional government, throughout the county and province, until the persons so apprehended, be liberated from the hands of our adversaries, and restored safe and uninjured to their respective friends and families.

14. That, until our rights are fully restored to us, we will, to the utmost of our power, and we recommend the same to the other counties, to withhold all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies, and abstain from the consumption of British merchandize and manufactures, and especially of East-India teas and piece goods, with such additions, alterations, and exceptions on-

ly, as the general congress of the colonies may agree to.

15. That under our present circumstances, it is incumbent on us to encourage arts and manufactures among us by all means in our power, and that a committee be appointed to consider of the best ways and means to promote and establish the same, and to report to this convention as soon as may be.

16. That the exigencies of our public affairs demand that a provincial congress be called to concert such measures as may be adopted, and vigorously executed, by the whole people; and we do recommend it to the several towns in this county, to choose members for such a provincial congress, to be holden at Concord, on the second Tuesday of October, next ensuing.

17. That this county, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the continental congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, pay all due respect and submission to such measures as may be recommended by them to the colonies, for the restoration and establishment of their just rights, civil and religious, and for renewing that harmony and union between Great-Britain and the colonies, so earnestly wished for by all good men.

18. That whereas the universal uneasiness which prevails among all orders of men, arising from the wicked and oppressive measures of the present administration, may influence some unthinking persons to commit outrage upon private property; we would heartily recommend to all persons of this community, not to engage in any routs, riots, or licentious attacks upon the property of any person whatsoever, as being subversive of all order and government; but, by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country.

19. That, should our enemies by any sudden manœuvres, render it necessary to ask the aid and assistance of our brethren in the country, some one of the committee of correspondence, or a select man of such town or the

town adjoining, where such hostilities shall commence, or shall be expected to commence, shall dispatch couriers with written messages to the select men or committees of correspondence of the several towns in the vicinity, with a written account of such matter, who shall dispatch others to committees more remote, until proper and sufficient assistance be obtained; and that the expense of said couriers be defrayed by the county, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the provincial congress.

Declaration, non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement of the American congress, resolved on, October 24, 1774.

WE, his majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions at those grievances and distresses, with which his majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent; find that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration, adopted by the British ministry, about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies, and with them, the British empire. In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America: and in prosecution of the same system, several

late, cruel, and oppressive acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston, and the Massachusetts Bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall choose so to direct them.

To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his majesty's subjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: and therefore we do for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love of our country, as follows:

First. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandize, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East India tea from any part of the world; nor any malmes, syrups, panes, coffee, or piemento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

Second. We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

Third. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from

this day, we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandize, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

Fourth. The earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow subjects in Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September, 1773; at which time, if the said acts, and parts of acts, of the British parliament, herein after mentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.

Fifth. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents, and correspondents, in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, residing in Great Britain or Ireland, shall, directly or indirectly, ship any goods, wares or merchandize, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connexion with such merchant.

Sixth. That such, as are owners of vessels, will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

Seventh. We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and, to that end,

we will kill them as seldom as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere; and those of us, who are or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

Eighth. We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dress, than a black crape or riband on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black riband and necklace, for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals.

Ninth. Such, as are venders of goods, or merchandize, will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past. And if any vender of goods, or merchandize, shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his, or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Tenth. In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandize after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped or delivered up to the committee of the county or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of

such goods shall be reimbursed (out of the sales) the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston port-bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stowed, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Eleventh. That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; and when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the gazette; to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known, and universally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

Twelfth. That the committee of correspondence in the respective colonies do frequently inspect the entries of their custom houses, and inform each other from time to time of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

Thirteenth. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

Fourteenth. And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province, in North-America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

And we do solemnly bind ourselves

and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glaz, and painters' colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed: and until that part of the act of the 12. G. 3. ch. 24. entitled, "an act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," by which any persons, charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed: and until the four acts passed the last session of parliament, viz. that for flopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston—that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay—and that which is entitled, "an act for the better administration of justice," &c. and that "for extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.

In congress, Philadelphia, Oct. 24.
Signed, Peyton Randolph, president.

New-Hampshire.
John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.
Massachusetts-Bay.

Thomas Cushing, John Adams.
Samuel Adams, Robert T. Paine.
Rhode-Island.

Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.
Connecticut.

Eliphalet Dyer, Silas Deane.

Roger Sherman, New-York.

Isaac Low, John Jay,
John Alsop, James Duane.

William Floyd, S. Boerum,
Henry Wisner, Philip Livingston,
New-Jersey.

James Kinsey, Richard Smith,
Wm. Livingston, John De Hart.
Stephen Crane,
Pennsylvania.

Joseph Galloway, Edward Biddle,
John Dickinson, John Morton,
Charles Humphreys George Ross.
Thomas Mifflin,
New-Castle, &c.

Caesar Rodney, George Read.
Thomas M'Kean,
Maryland.

Matthew Tilghman William Paca,
Thomas Johnson, Samuel Chase.
Virginia.

Richard H. Lee, Richard Bland,
George Washington Benj. Harrison,
P. Henry, jun. Edmund Pendleton
North-Carolina.

William Hooper, R. Caswell.
Joseph Hewes,
South-Carolina.

Henry Middleton, John Rutledge,
Thomas Lynch, Edward Rutledge.
Christ. Gadsden,

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Documents respecting the battles of Lexington and Concord.

Address of the provincial congress of Massachusetts, to the inhabitants of Great Britain.

Watertown, April 26, 1775.
Friends and fellow subjects,

HOSTILITIES are at length commenced in this colony, by the troops under the command of general Gage: and it being of the greatest importance that an early, true, and authentic account of this inhuman proceeding should be known to you, the congress of this colony have transmitted the same; and for want of a session of the hon. continental congress, think it proper to address you on the alarming occasion.

By the clearest depositions*, relative

NOTE.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

* We, Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson, all of lawful age, and of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the eighteenth of April instant, being on the road between

to this transaction, it will appear, that on the night preceding the 19th of A-

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Concord and Lexington, and all of us mounted on horses, we were about ten of the clock, suddenly surprised by nine persons, whom we took to be regular officers, who rode up to us, mounted and armed, each having a pistol in his hand, and after putting pistols to our breasts, and seizing the bridles of our horses, they swore, if we stirred another step, we should be all dead men, upon which we surrendered ourselves. They detained us until two o'clock the next morning, in which time they searched and greatly abused us, having first examined about the magazine at Concord, whether any guards were posted there, and whether the bridges were up, and said four or five regiments of regulars would be in possession of the stores soon. They then brought us back to Lexington, cut the horses' bridles and girths, turned them loose, and then left us.

Solomon Brown,
Jonathan Loring,
Elijah Sanderson.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, Elijah Sanderson, above named, do further testify and declare, that I was on Lexington common, the morning of the 19th of April, aforesaid, having been dismissed by the officers aforesaid, and saw a large body of regular troops advancing towards Lexington company, many of whom were then dispersing. I heard one of the regulars, whom I took to be an officer, say, "damn them, we will have them," and immediately the regulars shouted aloud, ran, and fired upon the Lexington company, which did not fire a gun before the regulars discharged on them. Eight of the Lexington company were killed while they were dispersing, and at a considerable distance from each other, and many wounded; and, although a spectator, I narrowly escaped with my life.

Elijah Sanderson.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

I, Thomas Rice Willard, of lawful age, do testify and declare, that being in the house of Daniel Harrington, of said Lexington, on the 19th instant

pril instant, a body of the king's troops, under the command of col.

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in the morning, about half an hour before sun-rise, looked out at the window of said house, and saw (as I suppose) about four hundred regulars in one body, coming up the road, and marched towards the north part of the common, back of the meeting-house of said Lexington, and as soon as said regulars were against the east end of the meeting-house, the commanding officer said something, what I know not, but upon that the regulars ran till they came within about eight or nine rods of about an hundred of the militia of Lexington, who were collected on said common, at which time the militia of Lexington dispersed; then the officers made an huzza, and the private soldiers succeeded them: directly after this, an officer rode before the regulars to the other side of the body, and hallooed after the militia of said Lexington, and said, "lay down your arms, damn you, why don't you lay down your arms?" and that there was not a gun fired till the militia of Lexington were dispersed: and further faith not.

Thomas Rice Willard.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

Simon Winship, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex and province of Massachusetts-Bay, New England, being of lawful age, testifieth and saith, that on the nineteenth of April instant, about four o'clock in the morning, as he was passing the public road in Lexington, peaceably and unarmed, about two miles and an half distant from the meeting-house, in said Lexington, he was met by a body of the king's regular troops; and, being stopped by some officers of said troops, was commanded to dismount. Upon asking why he must dismount, he was obliged by force to quit his horse, and ordered to march in the midst of the body, and being examined whether he had been warning the minute-men, he answered, no—but had been out, and was then returning to his father's. Said Winship further testifies, that he marched with said troops till he came within about half a quarter of a mile of said meeting-house, when an officer com-

Smith, were secretly landed at Cambridge, with an apparent design to

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manded the troops to halt, and then to prime and load. This being done, the said troops marched on till they came within a few rods of captain Parker's company, who were partly collected on the place of parade, when said Winship observed an officer at the head of said troops, flourishing his sword, and with a loud voice, giving the word—fire!—fire!—which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from said regular troops: and said Winship is positive, and in the most solemn manner declares, that there was no discharge of arms, on either side, till the word fire was given by said officer as above.

Simon Winship.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, John Parker, of lawful age, and commander of the militia in Lexington, do testify and declare, that on the 19th instant, in the morning, about one of the clock, being informed that there were a number of regular officers riding up and down the road, stopping and insulting people as they passed the road; and also was informed that a number of regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order to take the province stores at Concord, ordered our militia to meet on the common in said Lexington, to consult what to do, and concluded not to be discovered, nor meddle or make with said regular troops (if they should approach) unless they should insult or molest us; and upon their sudden approach, I immediately ordered our militia to disperse and not to fire. Immediately said troops made their appearance, and rushed furiously, fired upon and killed eight of our party, without receiving any provocation therefor from us. John Parker.

Lexington, April 24, 1775.

I, John Robins, being of lawful age, do testify and say, that on the 19th inst. the company under the command of captain John Parker, being drawn up (some time before sun-rise) on the green or common, and I being in the front rank, there suddenly appeared a number of the king's troops, about a thousand, as I thought,

take or destroy the military and other stores, provided for the defence

of this colony, and deposited at Concord; that some inhabitants of the

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at the distance of about sixty or seventy yards from us, huzzaing, and on a quick pace towards us, with three officers in their front on horse-back and on full gallop towards us, the foremost of which cried, throw down your arms, ye villains, ye rebels; upon which said company dispersing, the foremost of the three officers ordered their men, saying, fire, by God, fire, at which moment we received a very heavy and close fire from them, at which instant, being wounded, I fell, and several of our men were shot dead by me. Capt. Parker's men, I believe, had not then fired a gun; and further the deponent saith not.

John Robins.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

We, Benjamin Tidd, of Lexington, and Joseph Abbot, of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the 19th of April instant, about five o'clock, being on Lexington common, and mounted on horses, we saw a body of regular troops marching up to the Lexington company, which was then dispersing; soon after, the regulars fired, first a few guns, which we took to be pistols, from some of the regulars who were mounted on horses, and then the said regulars fired a volley or two, before any guns were fired by the Lexington company; our horses immediately started, and we rode off. And further saith not,

Benjamin Tidd.

Joseph Abbot.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

We, Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Russel, Moses Harrington, jun. Thomas and Daniel Harrington, William Grimes, William Tidd, Isaac Haltings, Jonas Stone, jun. James Wyman, Thaddeus Harrington, John Chandler, Joshua Reed, jun. Joseph Symonds, Phineas Smith, John Chandler, jun. Reuben Cock, Joel Viles, Nathan Reed, Samuel Tidd, Benjamin Lock, Thomas Winship, Simeon Snow, John Smith, Moses Harrington the third, Joshua Reed, Ebenezer Parker, John Harrington,

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Enoch Willington, John Horner, Isaac Green, Phineas Stearn, Isaac Durant, and Thomas Headley, jun. all of lawful age, and inhabitants of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New-England, do testify and declare, that on the 19th of April instant, about one or two o'clock in the morning, being informed that several officers of the regulars had the evening before been riding up and down the road, and had detained and insulted the inhabitants passing the same; and also understanding that a body of regulars were marching from Bolton towards Concord, with intent, (as it was supposed) to take the stores belonging to the colony in that town, we were alarmed, and having met at the place of our company's parade, were dismissed by our captain, John Parker, for the present, with orders to be ready to attend at the beat of the drum. We further testify and declare, that about five o'clock in the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the parade, and soon found that a large body of troops were marching towards us. Some of our company were coming up to the parade, and others had reached it, at which time the company began to disperse. Whilst our backs were turned on the troops, we were fired on by them, and a number of our men were instantly killed and wounded. Not a gun was fired by any person in our company, on the regulars, to our knowledge, before they fired on us, and they continued firing until we all had made our escape.

Signed by each of the above deponents.

Lexington, 25th of April, 1775.

We, Nathaniel Parkhurst, Jonas Parker, John Munroe, jun. John Winship, Solomon Pierce, John Muzzy, Abner Meeds, John Bridge, jun. Ebenezer Bowman, William Munroe the third, Micah Hager, Samuel Saunderson, Samuel Haltings, and James Brown, of Lexington in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New En-

colony, on the night aforesaid, whilst travelling peaceably on the road between Boston and Concord, were seized, and greatly abused, by armed

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gland, and all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April instant, about one or two o'clock, being informed, that a number of regular officers had been riding up and down the road the evening and night preceding, and that some of the inhabitants, as they were passing, had been insulted by the officers, and flogged by them; and being also informed, that the regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order as (it was said) to take the colony horses, then deposited at Concord, we met on the parade of our company in this town; after the company had collected, we were ordered by Capt. Parker (who commanded us) to disperse for the present, and to be ready to attend the beat of the drum, and accordingly the company went into houses near the place of parade. We further testify and say, that about five o'clock in the morning, we attended the beat of our drum, and were formed on the parade: we were faced towards the regulars, then marching up to us, and some of our company were coming to the parade with their backs towards the troops, and others on the parade, began to disperse when the regulars fired on the company before a gun was fired by any of our company on them. They killed eight of our company, and wounded several, and continued their fire, until we had all made our escape.

Signed by each of the deponents.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, Timothy Smith, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April instant, being on Lexington common, as a spectator, I saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington company, then dispersing, and likewise saw the regular troops fire on the Lexington company, before the latter fired a gun; I immediately ran, and a volley was discharged at me, which put me in imminent danger of losing my life; I soon return-

ed to the common, and saw eight of the Lexington men who were killed, and lay bleeding at a considerable distance from each other; and several were wounded; and further faith not,

Timothy Smith.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

We, Levi Mead, and Levi Harrington, both of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay in New England, and of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April, being on Lexington common, as spectators, we saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington company, and some of the regulars on horses, whom we took to be officers, fired a pistol or two on the Lexington company, which was then dispersing: these were the first guns that were fired, and they were immediately followed by several volleys from the regulars, by which eight men belonging to said company, were killed, and several wounded.

Levi Harrington,
Levi Mead.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, William Draper, of lawful age, and an inhabitant of Colrain, in the county of Hampshire, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, do testify and declare, that being on the parade of said Lexington, April 19th instant, about half an hour before sunrise, the king's regular troops appeared at the meeting-house of Lexington. Capt. Parker's company, who were drawn up back of said meeting-house on the parade, turned from said troops, making their escape by dispersing; in the mean time, the regular troops made an huzza, and ran towards Capt. Parker's company who were dispersing, and immediately after the huzza was made, the commanding officer of said troops (as I took him) gave the command to the said troops "fire! fire! damn you, fire!" and immediately they fired before any of captain Parker's company fired, I then being within three or four rods

men, who appeared to be officers of general Gage's army; that the town of Lexington by these means was alarmed, and a company of the in-

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of said regular troops: and further says not, *William Draper.*

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

I, Thomas Bellenden, of lawful age, testify and declare, that being in a pasture near the meeting-house, at said Lexington, on Wednesday last, at about half an hour before sunrise, I saw a number of regular troops pass speedily by said meeting-house, on their way towards a company of militia of said Lexington, who were assembled to the number of about one hundred in a company, at the distance of eighteen or twenty rods from said meeting-house; and after they had passed by said meeting-house, I saw three officers on horse-back advance to the front of said regulars, when one of them, being within six rods of the said militia, cried out, "disperse, you rebels, immediately," on which he brandished his sword over his head three times; mean while the second officer, who was about two rods behind him, fired a pistol, pointed at said militia, and the regulars kept buzzing till he had finished brandishing his sword, and when he had thus finished brandishing his sword, he pointed it down towards said militia, and immediately on which the said regulars fired a volley at the militia, and then I ran off as fast as I could, while they continued firing till I got out of their reach. I further testify, that as soon as ever the officer cried, "disperse, you rebels," the said company of militia dispersed every way as fast as they could, and while they were dispersing, the regulars kept firing at them incessantly. And further faith not, *Thomas Fessenden.*

Lincoln, April 23, 1775.

I, John Bateman, belonging to the fifty-second regiment, commanded by colonel Jones, on Wednesday morning, on the 19th day of April instant, was in the party marching to Concord, being at Lexington, in the county of Middlesex: being nigh the meeting-house in said Lexington, there was a small party of men gathered together in that place when our said troops marched by, and I testify and declare, that I heard the

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word of command given to the troops to fire, and some of said troops did fire, and I saw one of said small party lay dead on the ground nigh said meeting-house; and I testify that I never heard any of the inhabitants so much as fire one gun on said troops. *John Bateman.*

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, John Hoar, John Whithead, Abraham Gearfield, Benjamin Monroe, Isaac Parks, William Hosmer, John Adams, Gregory Stone, all of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, Massachusetts Bay, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday last we were assembled at Concord, in the morning of said day, in consequence of information received, that a brigade of regular troops were on their march to the said town of Concord, who had killed six men at the town of Lexington; about an hour afterwards we saw them approaching, to the number, as we apprehended, of about twelve hundred; on which we retreated to a hill about eighty rods back; and the said troops then took possession of the hill where we were first posted. Presently after this, we saw the troops moving towards the north bridge, about one mile from the said Concord meeting-house. We then immediately went before them, and passed the bridge, just before a party of them, to the number of about two hundred, arrived. They there left about one half of their two hundred at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards col. Barrett's, about two miles from the said bridge. We then, seeing several fires in the town, thought the houses in Concord were in danger, and marched towards the said bridge; and the troops, that were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back over the bridge, and then took up some of the planks. We then hastened our march towards the bridge; and when we had got near the bridge, they fired on our men first, three guns, one after the other; and then a considerable number more; and then, and not before, (having orders from our com-

habitants mustered on the occasion; that the regular troops, on their way to Concord, marched into the said town of Lexington, and the said

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manding officers not to fire, till we were fired upon) we fired upon the regulars, and they retreated. On their retreat through the town of Lexington, to Charlestown, they ravaged and destroyed private property, and burnt three houses, one barn, and one shop.

Signed by each of the above deponents.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, Nathan Barrot, captain; Jonathan Farrar, Joseph Butler, and Francis Wheeler, lieutenants; John Barrot, ensign; John Brown, Silas Walker, Ephraim Melvin, Nathan Buurick, Stephen Hofmer, jun. Samuel Barrot, Thomas Jones, Joseph Chandler, Peter Wheeler, Nathan Pierce, and Edward Richardson, all of Concord, in the county of Middlesex, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, of lawful age, testify and declare, that on Wednesday the nineteenth instant, about an hour after sun-rise, we assembled on a hill near the meeting-house in Concord aforesaid, in consequence of information that a number of regular troops had killed six of our countrymen at Lexington, and were on their march to said Concord; and about an hour afterwards we saw them approaching, to the number, as we imagine, of about twelve hundred; on which we retreated to a hill about eighty rods back, and the aforesaid troops then took possession of a hill where we were first posted. Presently after this we saw them moving towards the north bridge, about one mile from said meeting house: we then immediately went before them, and passed the bridge just before a party of them, to the number of about two hundred, arrived. They there left about one half of these two hundred at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards colonel Barret's, about two miles from the said bridge. We then seeing several fires in the town, thought our houses were in danger, and immediately marched back towards said bridge, and the troops who were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back

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over the bridge, and then took up some of the planks. We then haltered our steps towards the bridge, and when we had got near the bridge, they fired on our men, first three guns one after the other, and then a considerable number more: upon which, and not before, (having orders from our commanding officer not to fire till we were fired upon) we fired upon the regulars, and they retreated. At Concord, and on their retreat through Lexington, they plundered many houses, burnt three at Lexington, together with a shop and barn, and committed damage more or less to almost every house from Concord to Charlestown.

Signed by the above deponents.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, Joseph Butler and Ephraim Melvin, do testify and declare, that when the regular troops fired upon our people at the north bridge in Concord, as related in the foregoing deposition, they shot one, and we believe two, of our people, before we fired a single gun at them.

*Joseph Butler,
Ephraim Melvin.*

Concord, April 23, 1775.

I, Timothy Minot, jun. of Concord, on the nineteenth day of this instant, April, after that I had heard of the regular troops firing upon Lexington men, and fearing that hostilities might be committed at Concord, thought it my incumbent duty to secure my family. After I had secured my family, some time after that, returning towards my own dwelling, and finding that the bridge on the north part of said Concord, was guarded by regular troops, being a spectator of what had happened at said bridge, declare, that the regular troops stationed on said bridge, after they saw the men that were collected on the westerly side of said bridge marched towards said bridge, then the troops returned towards the easterly side of said bridge, and formed themselves, as I thought, for regular fight: after that they fired one gun, then two or three more, before the men that were

company, on their approach, began to disperse ; that, notwithstanding this,

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stationed on the westerly part of said bridge, fired upon them.

Timothy Minot, jun.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

I, James Barrett, of Concord, colonel of a regiment of militia in the county of Middlesex, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, about day-break, I was informed of the approach of a number of the regular troops to the town of Concord, where were some magazines belonging to this province : when there were assembled some of the militia of this and the neighbouring towns, I ordered them to march to the north bridge (so called) which they had passed and were taking up. I ordered said militia to march to said bridge and pass the same, but not to fire on the king's troops, unless they were first fired upon. We advanced near said bridge, when the said troops fired upon our militia, and killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others, which was the first firing of guns in the town of Concord : my detachment then returned the fire, which killed and wounded several of the king's troops.

James Barrett.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, Bradbury Robinson, Samuel Spring, Thaddeus Bancroft, all of Concord ; and James Adams, of Lexington, all in the county of Middlesex, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, near ten of the clock, we saw near one hundred of the regular troops, being in the town of Concord, at the north bridge in said town (so called) and having passed the same, they were taking up said bridge, when about three hundred of our militia were advancing toward said bridge, in order to pass said bridge, when, without saying any thing to us, they discharged a number of guns on us, which killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others : when we returned the fire on them, which killed two of them and wounded several, which

the regulars rushed on with great violence, and first began hostilities by

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was the beginning of hostilities in the town of Concord.

Bradbury Robinson,

Samuel Spring,

Thaddeus Bancroft,

James Adams.

Worcester, April 26, 1775.

Hannah Bradish, of that part of Cambridge, called Menotomy, and daughter of Timothy Paine, of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, esq. of lawful age, testifies and says, that about five o'clock on Wednesday last, afternoon, being in her bed-chamber, with her infant child, about eight days old, she was surprised by the firing of the king's troops and our people, on their return from Concord. She being weak and unable to go out of her house, in order to secure herself and family, they all retired into the kitchen, in the back part of the house. She soon found the house surrounded with the king's troops ; that upon observation made, at least seventy bullets were shot into the front part of the house ; several bullets lodged in the kitchen where she was, and one passed through an easy chair she had just gone from. The door of the front part of the house was broke open ; she did not see any soldiers in the house, but supposed, by the noise, they were in the front. After the troops had gone off, she missed the following things, which, she verily believes, were taken out of the house by the king's troops, viz. one rich brocade gown called a negligee, one lutestring gown, one white quilt, one pair of brocade shoes, three thimbles, eight white aprons, three caps, one case of ivory knives and forks, and several other small articles.

Hannah Bradish.

I, James Marr, of lawful age, testify and say, that in the evening of the eighteenth instant, I received orders from George Hinshion, adjutant of the fourth regiment of the regular troops stationed at Boston, to prepare and march : to which order I attended, and marched to Concord, where I was ordered by an officer with about one hundred men, to guard a certain bridge there ; while attend-

iring on said Lexington company, whereby they killed eight, and wounded several others; that the regulars

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ing that service, a number of people came along, in order, as I suppose, to cross said bridge, at which time a number of the regular troops first fired upon them. *James Marr.*

Medford, April 25, 1775.

I, Edward Thornton Gould, of his majesty's own regiment of foot, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the eighteenth instant under the orders of general Gage, I embarked with the light infantry and grenadiers of the line, commanded by colonel Smith, and landed on the marshes of Cambridge, from whence we proceeded to Lexington. On our arrival at that place we saw a body of provincial troops armed, to the number of about sixty or seventy men. On our approach, they dispersed, and soon after firing began; but which party fired first, I cannot exactly say, as our troops rushed on shouting and huzzing, previous to the firing, which was continued by our troops so long as any of the provincials were to be seen. From thence we marched to Concord. On a hill near the entrance of the town, we saw another body of provincials assembled. The light infantry companies were ordered up the hill to disperse them. On our approach they retreated towards Concord. The grenadiers continued the road under the hill towards the town. Six companies of light infantry were ordered down to take possession of the bridge, which the provincials retreated over. The company I commanded was one. Three companies of the above detachment went forward about two miles. In the mean time the provincial troops returned, to the number of about three or four hundred. We drew up on the Concord side of the bridge. The provincials came down upon us, upon which we engaged and gave the first fire. This was the first engagement after the one at Lexington; a continued firing from both parties continued the whole day; I myself was wounded at the attack of the bridge, and am now treated with the

continued their fire, until those of said company, who were neither killed nor wounded, had made their escape; that col. Smith, with the detachment, then marched to Concord, where a number of provincials were again fired on by the troops, two of them killed and several wounded, before the provincials fired on them, and that these hostile measures of the troops produced an engagement that lasted through the day, in which many of the provincials, and more of the regular troops were killed and wounded.

To give a particular account of the ravages of the troops, as they retreated from Concord to Charlestown, would be very difficult, if not impracticable; let it suffice to say, that a great number of the houses on the road were plundered and rendered unfit for use; several were burnt; women in child-bed were driven, by the soldiery naked into the streets; old men, peaceable in their houses, were shot dead; and such scenes exhibited as would disgrace the annals of the most uncivilized nations.

These, brethren, are marks of ministerial vengeance against this colony, for refusing, with her other colonies, a submission to slavery; but they have not yet detached us from our royal sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and, so hardly deal with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown, and dignity. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel ministry we will not tamely submit—appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free.

We cannot think that the honour, wisdom, and valour of Britons, will suffer them to be long inactive spectators of measures, in which they themselves are so deeply interested—measures pursued in opposition to the fol-

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greatest humanity, and taken all possible care of, by the provincials at Medford.

Edward Thornton Gould, lieut.
king's own regiment.

(All the above depositions are sworn to before justices of the peace, and duly attested by notaries public.)

leman protests of many noble lords, and exprelled sene of conspicuous commoners, whose knowledge and virtue have long characterized them as some of the greatest men in the nation—measures executing contrary to the interest, petitions and resolves of many large, respectable and opulent counties, cities, and boroughs in Great-Britain—measures highly incompatible with justice, but still purfued with a specious pretence of easing the nation of its burdens—measures, which, if successful, must end in the ruin and slavery of Britain, as well as the persecuted American colonies.

We sincerely hope, that the great Sovereign of the universe, who hath so often appeared for the English nation, will support you in every rational and manly exertion with these colonies, for saving it from ruin; and that in a constitutional connexion with the mother country, we shall soon be all together a free and happy people.

Per order,

Joseph Warren, President, P. T.



The British account of the battles of Lexington and Concord.

Whitehall, June 15, 1775.

GENERAL Gage having received intelligence of a large quantity of military stores being collected at Concord, for the avowed purpose of supplying a body of troops to act in opposition to his majesty's government, detached, on the 18th of April at night, the grenadiers of his army, and the light infantry, under the command of lieutenant colonel Smith, of the 10th regiment, and major Pitcairne, of the marines, with orders to destroy the said stores; and the next morning eight companies of the 4th, the same number of the 23d, and 49th, and some marines, marched under the command of lord Percy to support the other detachment.

Lieutenant colonel Smith finding, after he had advanced some miles on his march, that the country had been alarmed by the firing of guns and ringing of bells, dispatched six companies of light infantry, in order to secure two bridges on different roads beyond Concord, who, upon their ar-

rival at Lexington, found a body of the country people drawn up under arms on a green close to the road; and upon the king's troops marching up to them, in order to enquire the reason of their being so assembled, they went off in great confusion, and several guns were fired upon the king's troops from behind a stone wall, and also from the meeting-house, and other houses, by which one man was wounded, and major Pitcairne's horse shot in two places. In consequence of this attack by the rebels, the troops returned the fire, and killed several of them; after which, the detachment marched on to Concord, without any thing further happening, where they effected the purpose for which they were sent, having knocked off the trunnions of three pieces of iron ordnance, burnt some new gun-carriages, and a great number of carriage wheels, and thrown into the river a considerable quantity of flour, gunpowder, musket balls, and other articles. Whilst this service was performing, great numbers of the rebels assembled in many parts, and a considerable body of them attacked the light infantry posted at one of the bridges, on which an action ensued, and some few were killed and wounded.

On the return of the troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had several men killed and wounded, by the rebels firing from behind walls, ditches, trees, and other ambusches; but the brigade under the command of lord Percy having joined them at Lexington, with two pieces of cannon, the rebels were for a while dispersed; but as soon as the troops resumed their march, they began again to fire upon them from behind stone-walls and houses, and kept up in that manner a scattering fire during the whole of their march of fifteen miles, by which means several were killed and wounded; and such was the cruelty and barbarity of the rebels, that they scalped and cut off the ears of some of the wounded men, who fell into their hands.

It is not known what number of the rebels were killed and wounded; but, it is supposed, that their loss was very considerable.

General Gage says, that too much praise cannot be given to lord Percy, for his remarkable activity during the whole day, and that lieut. colonel Smith, and major Pitcairne did every thing that men could do, as did all the officers in general; and that the men behaved with their usual intrepidity.

Return of the killed and wounded, prisoners and missing, on the 19th of April, 1775.

One lieutenant killed. Two lieut. colonels wounded. Two captains wounded. Nine lieutenants wounded. One lieutenant missing. Two ensigns wounded. One serjeant killed, seven wounded, two missing. One drummer killed, one wounded, sixty-two rank and file killed, one hundred and fifty-seven wounded, twenty-four missing.

N. B. Lieut. Isaac Potter reported to be wounded, and taken prisoner.

Signed, *Thomas Gage.*

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A speech to the six confederate nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senekas, from the twelve united colonies, convened in council at Philadelphia, July 13, 1775.

Brothers, sachems, and warriors,

WE, the delegates from the twelve united provinces, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, now sitting in general congress at Philadelphia, send this talk to you our brothers. We are sixty-five in number, chosen and appointed by the people throughout all these provinces and colonies, to meet and sit together in one great council, to consult together for the common good of the land, and speak and act for them.

Brothers, in our consultation, we have judged it proper and necessary to send you this talk, as we are upon the same island, that you may be informed of the reasons of this great council, the situation of our civil constitution, and our disposition towards you our

Indian brothers of the six nations and their allies.

(Three strings, or a small belt.)

Brothers and friends, now attend.

When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk; assuring them that they and their children should be his children, and that if they shouild leave their native country and make settlements, and live here, and buy, and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain, and enjoy peace—And it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's forever, and at their sole disposal.

Trusting that this covenant should never be broken, our fathers came a great distance beyond the great water, laid out their money here, built houses, cleared fields, raised crops, and through their own labour and industry, grew tall and strong.

They have bought, sold and traded with England according to agreement, sending to them such things as they wanted, and taking in exchange such things as were wanted here.

The king of England and his people kept the way open for more than one hundred years, and by our trade became richer, and by a union with us, greater and stronger than the other kings and people who live beyond the water.

All this time they lived in great friendship with us, and we with them; for we are brothers—one blood.

Whenever they were struck, we instantly felt as though the blow had been given to us—their enemies were our enemies.

Whenever they went to war, we sent our men to stand by their side and fight for them, and our money to help them and make them strong.

They thanked us for our love, and sent us good talks, and renewed their promise to be one people for ever.

Brothers and friends, open a kind ear!

We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of king

George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

Many of his counsellors are proud and wicked men. They perjuade the king to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good talks. A considerable number have prevailed upon him to enter into a new covenant against us, and have torn asunder and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of.

They now tell us, they will slip their hand into our pocket without asking, as though it were their own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives—also our plantations, our houses, and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. That our vessels may go to this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more. And, in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

Brothers, this is our present situation—thus have many of the king's counsellors and servants dealt with us. If we submit, or comply with their demands, you can easily perceive to what state we will be reduced. If our people labour on the field, they will not know who shall enjoy the crop. If they hunt in the woods, it will be uncertain who shall taste of the meat, or have the skins. If they build houses, they will not know whether they may sit round the fire, with their wives and children. They cannot be sure whether they shall be permitted to eat, drink, and wear the fruits of their own labour and industry.

Brothers and friends of the six nations, attend.

We, upon this island, have often spoke and intreated the king and his servants, the counsellors, that peace and harmony might still continue between us—that we cannot part with or lose our hold of the old covenant chain, which united our fathers and theirs—that we want to brighten this chain—and keep the way open as our fathers did—that we want to live with them as brothers, labour, trade, travel abroad, eat, and drink in peace,

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We have often asked them to love us, and live in such friendship with us, as their fathers did with ours.

We told them again that we judged we were exceedingly injured; that they might as well kill us, as take away our property and the necessaries of life. We have asked, why they treat us thus? What has become of our repeated addressees and supplications to them? Who hath shut the ears of the king to the cries of his children in America? No soft answer—no pleasant voice from beyond the water has yet sounded in our ears.

Brothers, thus stands the matter betwixt old England and America. You Indians know how things are proportioned in a family—between the father and the son—the child carries a little pack—England we regard as the father—this island may be compared to the son.

The father has a numerous family both at home and upon this island—He appoints a great number of servants to assist him in the government of his family. In process of time, some of his servants grow proud and ill-natured—they are displeased to see the boy so alert, and walk on so nimly with his pack—They tell the father, and advise him to enlarge the child's pack—they prevail—the pack is increased—the child takes it up again—as he thought it might be the father's pleasure—speaks but few words—those very small—for he was loth to offend the father. Those proud and wicked servants, finding they had prevailed, laughed to see the boy sweat and stagger under his increased load. By-and-by they apply to the father to double the boy's pack, because they heard him complain—and without any reason, said they—he is a croſs child—correct him, if he complains any more. The boy intreats the father—addresses the great servants in a decent manner, that the pack might be lightened—he could not go any farther—humbly asks, if the old fathers, in any of their records, had described such a pack for the child—after all the tears and intreaties of the child, the pack is redoubled—the child stands a little, while staggering under the weight—ready to fall every moment—however, he intreats the father once more,

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though so faint he could only lisp out his last humble supplication—waits a while—no voice returns. The child concludes the father could not hear—those proud servants had intercepted his supplications, or stopped the ears of the father. He therefore gives one struggle, and throws off the pack, and says he cannot take it up again—such a weight would crush him down and kill him—and he can but die, if he refuses.

Upon this, those servants are very wroth—and tell the father many false stories respecting the child—they bring a great cudgel to the father, asking him to take it in his hand and strike the child.

This may serve to illustrate the present condition of the king's American subjects, or children.

Amidst these oppressions, we now and then hear a mollifying and reviving voice, from some of the king's wise counsellors, who are our friends, and feel for our distresses; when they heard our complaints and our cries, they applied to the king, also told those wicked servants, that this child, in America, was not a cross boy; it had sufficient reason for crying, and if the cause of its complaint was neglected, it would soon assume the voice of a man, plead for justice, like a man, and defend its rights, and support the old covenant chain of the fathers.

Brothers, listen!

Notwithstanding all our intreaties, we have but little hope the king will send us any more good talks, by reason of his evil counsellors; they have persuaded him to send an army of soldiers and many ships of war, to rob and destroy us. They have shut up many of our harbours, seized and taken into possession many of our vessels: the soldiers have struck the blow, killed some of our people, the blood now runs of the American children: they have also burned our houses and towns, and taken much of our goods.

Brothers! we are now necessitated to rise, and forced to fight, or give up our civil constitution, run away, and leave our farms and houses behind us. This must not be. Since the king's wicked counsellors will not open their ears, and consider our just complaints, and the cause of our weeping, and have given the blow, we are determined to

drive away the king's soldiers, and to kill and destroy all those wicked men we find in arms against the peace of the twelve united colonies upon this island. We think our cause is just; therefore hope God will be on our side. We do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honour and conquest; but to maintain our civil constitution and religious privileges, the very fame for which our forefathers left their native land and came to this country.

Brothers, and friends!

We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear, and listen to what we are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass without molestation.

Brothers! we live upon the same ground with you. The same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you: let us water its roots, and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies.

Brothers, observe well!

What is it we have asked of you?—nothing but peace, notwithstanding our present disturbed situation—and if application should be made to you, by any of the king's unwise and wicked ministers to join on their side—we only advise you to deliberate with great caution, and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For if the king's troops take away our property, and destroy us, who are of the same blood with themselves—what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards?

Therefore we say, brothers, take care—hold fast to your covenant chain. You know our disposition towards you, the six nations of Indians,

and your allies. Let this our good talk remain at Onondaga, your central council house. We depend upon you to send and acquaint your allies to the northward, the seven tribes on the river St. Lawrence, that you have this talk of ours at the great council fire of the six nations. And when they return, we invite your great men to come and converse farther with us at Albany, where we intend to rekindle the council fire which your and our ancestors sat round in great friendship,

Brothers and friends !

We greet you all,
Farewell.

(*The large belt of intelligence and declaration.*)

Brothers !

We have said we wish you Indians may continue in peace with one another, and with us the white people. Let us both be cautious in our behaviour towards each other at this critical state of affairs. This island now trembles, the wind whistles from almost every quarter—let us fortify our minds, and shut our ears against false rumours—let us be cautious what we receive for truth, unless spoken by wise and good men. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the twelve united colonies, and you, the six nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it wise and expedient to kindle up a small council-fire at Albany, where we may hear each others voice, and disclose our minds more fully to each other.

(*A small belt.*)



Petition in favour of colonel Hayne, signed by all the ladies of Charlton, except four, and presented to lord Rawdon and col. Balfour.

My lord and sir,

WE should have reason to reproach ourselves with having omitted a proper occasion of manifesting the tenderness peculiarly characteristic of our sex, if we did not profess ourselves deeply interested and affected by the imminent and shocking doom of the most unfortunate mr. Hayne, and if we did not intreat you, in the most earnest manner, gra-

ciously to avert, prolong, or mitigate it. We do not even think, much less do we intend to imply in the remotest degree, that your sentence is unjust; but we are induced to hope, that every end it proposes, may be equally answered as if carried into execution: for to us it does not appear probable, that any, whom it is intended to influence and deter from similar delinquency, will be encouraged with the hope of impunity, by reason of any favour shewn him, as they must surely reflect, that it was owing to certain causes and circumstances, that will not apply to them. We presume to make this intercession for him, and to hope that it will not prove fruitless, from the knowledge of your dispositions in particular, as well as from the reflexion in general, that humanity is rarely separable from courage, and that the gallant soldier feels as much reluctance to cause, by deliberate decrees, the infliction of death on men in cold blood, as he does ardour in the day of battle and heat of action, to make the enemies of his country perish by the sword. He may rejoice to behold his laurels sprinkled with the blood of armed and resisting adversaries, but will regret to see them wet with the tears of unhappy orphans, mourning the loss of a tender, amiable, and worthy parent, executed like a vile and infamous felon. To the praises that men, who have been witnesses and sharers of your dangers and services in the field, may find of your military virtues and prowess, we trust you will give the ladies occasion, to add the praises of your milder and softer virtues, by furnishing them with a striking proof of your clemency and politeness, in the present instance. May the unhappy object of our petition owe to that clemency and politeness—to our prayers and to his own merits in other respects—what you may think him not entitled to, if policy and justice were not outweighed in his behalf. To any other men in power, than such as we conceive you both to be, we should employ on the occasion more ingenuity and art, to dress up and enforce the many pathetic and favourable circumstances attending his case, in order to move your passions, and engage your favour; but we think this will be need-

less, and is obviated by your own spontaneous feelings, humane considerations, and liberal reasoning: nor shall we dwell on his most excellent character, the outrages and excesses, and perhaps murders, prevented by him, to which innocent and unarmed individuals were exposed in an extensive manner; nor shall we here lay any stress on the most grievous shock his numerous and respectable connexions must sustain by his death, which will be aggravated by the mode of it; nor shall we do more than remind you of the complicated distress and sufferings, that must befall his young and promising children, to whom, perhaps, death would be more comfortable, than the state of orphanage they will be left in. All these things, we understand, have already been represented, and we are sure will have their due weight with men of your humane and benevolent minds. Many of us have already subscribed a former petition for him, and hope you will regard our doing it again, not as importunity, but earnestness; and we pray most fervently, that you will forever greatly oblige us, by not letting us do it in vain. *

We are, my lord and sir,
with all respect,
your very anxious petitioners
and humble servants.

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PETER in HESSE.

A dialogue between Col. Faustit, a British recruiting officer, and Peter, a Hessian peasant, in a public house in Hesse.

Faust. **H**E! beer! bread! sausages!—There are three guineas, quite new, if you will sign this enrollment. To your health, comrade.

Peter. Your health, sir. Is it far to 'Merica? for I would choose to return by next Christmas; I want to fire a musket for a wager.

Faust. It is a voyage of fifteen days or three weeks. To chastise the rebels, is an affair of two months; and you may be back here by the next spring.

NOTE.

* It is but too well known that this petition proved ineffectual.—C.

Pet. How is it, then, that my cousin George has been away five years, and his mother has received no account from him, as he had promised?

Faust. George, say you? he is married long since to a young girl of Pennsylvania; and they have children almost as big as you are.

Pet. Married! are there then girls there? and are they white or black?

Faust. Very white, very pretty; and they have a great deal of wit.

Pet. Have they feet and hands?

Faust. Certainly; pretty feet and white hands.

Pet. Are they wild or tame?

Faust. They are something wild; but you know very well how a German ought to take in hand to correct his wife, and reduce her to reason.

Pet. Do they speak good German? do they step—do they dance as our girls? do they wear petticoats or breeches? do they know how to feed cattle and fowls? can they split wood, reap grain, make bread, beer-soup and tour kraut?

Faust. They can do all this, better than the Hessian girls. To your health. He! beer!

Pet. [Drinking.] Then I may marry there.

Faust. Without doubt; and you will have no more to do, but to choose amongst the American girls. You shall take for wife her who shall seem the prettiest, or who shall bring you the best manor. Her father and brothers shall be your valets; and while you shall pass your time in drinking, eating, playing at nine pins, getting children, or sleeping, they will work on your fields; and if they are negligent, you will give them the cow-kkin. He! boy! brandy!

Pet. Are the Americans made like us? have they a tail? are they hairy? have they paws or hands? have they nails or claws?

Faust. They have claws, but we will cut them.

Pet. Are they bold or fearful, big or little, strong or weak?

Faust. They are a little mischievous; but they are not so big as your little brother William; and they are so weak, that one Hessian would kill twenty with his fist, before they could load a musket. Let us drink the health of the landgrave.

Pet. To the health of his highness.

Fauc. You are very happy that this good prince sends you to America to make your fortune, while, if you were obliged to stay here, you would scarcely get a crown a month, labouring like a Bohemian, and you would be flogged for the least fault ; they would put irons on you ; they would oblige you to work on the highways, in the parks, in the mines, at the bridge, at the palace, at the fortifications.

Pet. Long live my lord, the landgrave. Put me down—give me the guineas—and I will sign the paper.

Fauc. Take them. You are a thousand times more happy than you deserve. Let us go. Go to bed. We set off to-morrow.

Pet. Why not to night ?

Fauc. It is because you are so drunk that you cannot stand. Let us go. Scoundrel ! go to your hammock.



PETER at NEW YORK. A dialogue between Peter, lately en-

titled in an Hessian regiment, and his cousin George, a soldier in the same regiment.

[George on duty on the wharf at New York.]

George **G**—D d——n me ! that's Peter, the son of my uncle the cap-maker.

Peter. Certainly it is I, and who are you to know me so well ?

Geo. How ! my dear Peter, don't you know your cousin George ?

Pet. How, know you with this plaster on your face ! and these tags on your body ! embrace me, my dear George ! bring me to see your wife, your children.

Geo. My wife, my children ! I have none.

Pet. How ! are they dead ?

Geo. I have never been married.

Pet. See how one is deceived when so far off. The brave col. Faust is persuaded that you have married a pretty girl of this country ; and that you have a large family—but if you are not married, you have, without doubt, a good house, and a good cellar ; I would be glad to go and take a cup with you, to refresh myself after the sufferings of the voyage. For this cursed ship was so nar-

row that we were all jammed together like pickled herrings in a barrel.

Geo. I have neither a cellar, nor a house, and have nothing but water to offer you.

Pet. What, water ! is it because there are no vines on your manor.

Geo. My dear Peter, I believe you are become a fool ; I understand nothing of what you say about my wife, my children, my house, my cellar, my manor, my vines. Do not you see, that I am a poor soldier, half-starved, half-naked ; and that I have no hope to be recompensed at the end of the war for my fatigues, and the dangers I have run ?

Pet. How ! it is not then for your amusement that you walk here with a musket on your shoulder.

Geo. No, certainly ; I am on duty, and to leave you no doubt with regard to the servitude in which they hold me ; look at my face ; it is all maimed with strokes, which I received yesterday, because my musket was not as bright as the knocker on the door of a quaker.

Pet. How this poor colonel was misinformed !

Geo. But you, what have you come to do here ?

Pet. I am come to chastise the rebels, and to marry a young girl of Pennsylvania who is pretty and fair, who has fine hands, little feet, and who makes excellent beer-soup, and delicious four-kraut.

Geo. In good faith !

Pet. It is a settled affair, and what is more, her father and brothers shall be my valers. I shall flog them as long as I shall please, and while they work on my fields, I will drink, eat, and be as happy as an alderman.

Geo. What do they call your intended ?

Pet. I know nothing about it ; but it was col. Faust that promised me all this.

Geo. Unlucky man ! they have deceived you, as well as me ; you will never again see your country ; you are a miserable slave, a prisoner ordered to defend this city. I was deceived as you have been ; they have failed in their promises on every point, and we have not the certainty, nor even the hope of being recompensed at the end of the war, as the Ameri-

can soldiers, in receiving rations and pay which we have so well deserved.

Pet. [crying] ah ! my dear little wife, I shall never then see you.

Geo. An American soldier has the certainty of becoming a happy citizen, and we have that of being, after the war, still more miserable than we are now. We shall have no other resource, but to get off on the first opportunity.

(A serjeant separates them, giving them blows with his cane to make them learn the Hessian discipline.)



A curious fact.

AS some persons were hunting a few weeks ago, during the late severe weather, in the county of Cape May, they discovered by the barking and unusual behaviour of their dogs, at a small distance a head, that they had found some kind of game burrowed in the ground; upon advancing to the place, and examining, with their rammers, a hole which the dogs seemed to attentive to, they found a number of snakes retired in a large cavity, to take up their winter quarters; it being so singular and admirable a circumstance, and they not being at that time prepared to dislodge them, a day was appointed for that purpose, when the inhabitants of the neighbourhood assembled, to the number of fifty; after the contents of this extraordinary dormitory were disclosed, to their very great admiration and surprise, were exhibited to view forty rattlesnakes, and sixty black snakes, all promiscuously coiled up together.

Leaving it to naturalists to remark on this truly curious phenomenon, I will just add that judge Wilkins, of Woodbury, Gloucester county, was witness to an instance of the above species of snakes being found burrowed together some years ago in said county, but not in so large a number.

*Burlington county, A. B.
A. S. mo. 9th. 1789.*



American antiquities.* No. 1.
IHAVE the felicity to belong to a society of critics and antiquarians, who have made it their business and

NOTE.

* *These essays are a joint production of col. Humphreys, mr. Trumbull, &c. &c.—C.*

delight, for some years past, to investigate the ancient as well as natural history of America. The success of their researches, in such an unlimited field, pregnant with such wonderful and inexhaustible materials, has been equal to their most sanguine expectations. One of our worthy associates has favoured the public with a minute and accurate description of the monstrous, new invented animal, which had, till his elaborate lucubration, escaped the notice of every zoologist. Another has regaled his readers with a most notable catfish. A third has brought them acquainted with a hermit, who surpasses all other hermits in longevity, as much as his biographer does all other historians in point of veracity. Others have spared no pains to feast the public curiosity with an ample supply of great bones from the Wabash; and at the same time to quench the thirst for novelty from the burning spring on the Ohio. It has happily fallen to my lot to communicate a recent discovery, still more valuable to the republic of letters. I need scarcely premise, that the ruins of fortifications, yet visible, and other vestiges of art in the western country, have sufficiently demonstrated, that this delightful region had once been occupied by a civilized people. Had not this hypothesis been previously established, the fact I am about to relate, would have placed it beyond the possibility of doubt. For upon digging into the ruins of one of these fortifications, the labourers were surprised to find a calemate, a magazine, and a cistern almost entire: pursuing their subterranean progress, near the northeast corner of the bastion, in a room that had evidently been occupied by the commandant, they found a great number of utensils more curious and elegant than those of Pahivra or Herculaneum. But what rendered their good fortune complete, was, the discovery of a great number of papers, manuscripts, &c., whose preservation, through such a long lapse of years, amidst such marks of hostility and desolation, must be deemed marvellous, indeed; perhaps little short of miraculous. This affords a reflexion, that such extraordinary circumstances could scarcely have taken place to answer only vulgar purposes.

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Happening myself to come upon the spot immediately after this treasure had been discovered, I was permitted to take possession of it, in the name and for the use of our society. Amongst these reliques of antiquity, I was overjoyed to find a folio manuscript, which appeared to contain an epic poem complete; and as I am passionately fond of poetry, ancient as well as modern, I set myself instantly to cleanse it from the extraneous concretions with which it was in some parts enveloped, defaced, and rendered illegible. By means of a chemic preparation, which is made use of for restoring old paintings, I soon accomplished this desirable object. It was then I found it was called "THE ANARCHIAD, a poem, on the restoration of chaos and substantial night, in twenty-four books."

As it would swell this letter beyond the limits I had prescribed, to give a critical analysis of this inimitable work; I must content myself with observing, that the excellency of its fable, the novelty and dignity of its characters, the sublimity of sentiments, and the harmony of numbers, give it the first rank in merit, amongst the productions of human genius. I might also add, that it appears, from incontestible proofs, this work was well known to the ancients; and that, as it is the most perfect, it has undoubtedly been

the model for all subsequent epic productions. Perhaps in a future essay, I shall attempt to prove that Homer, Virgil, and Milton, have borrowed many of their capital beauties from it. At present, to shew that the matter is not fabulous, as well as to give a specimen of the author's forcible style and happy manner of expressing himself, I shall cite a few lines from the 8th book, which is denominated the Book of Vision. So lively are the descriptions, so glowing the images, so familiar and present is every object placed to our view, that the reader will, I dare say, be as much astonished as I have been myself, to find that a poet, who lived so many centuries ago, should have described, with such amazing precision, events that happened in our own times. The prophetic bard seems to have taken for the point of vision, one of the lofty mountains of America, and to have caused, by his magic invocations, the years of futurity to pass before him. He begins with unfolding the beautifying scenes when those plagues to society, law and justice, shall be done away; when every one shall be independent of his neighbour; and when every rogue shall literally do what is right in his own eyes. Let us now hear the poet speak for himself in his own words.

Extract from the Anarchiad.

" In visions fair, the scenes of fate unroll,
And Massachusetts opens on my soul.
There Chaos, Anarch old, asserts his sway,
And mobs in myriads blacken all the way :
See Day's stern port, behold the martial frame
Of Shays' and Shattuck's mob-compelling name :
See the bold Hampshirites on Springfield pour,
The fierce Tauntonians crowd the alewife shore.
O'er Concord fields, the bands of discord spread,
And Wor'ster trembles at their thundering tread :
See from proud Egremont, the wood-chuck train
Sweep their dark files, and shade with rags the plain.
Lo, the court falls ; th' attighted judges run,
Clerks, lawyers, sheriffs, ev'ry mother's son.
The stocks, the gallows, lose th' expected prize,
See the jails open, and the thieves arise.
Thy confusion, chaos, is restor'd ;
Law sinks before thy uncreating word ;
Thy hand unbars th' 'infathom'd gulph of fate,
And deep in darkness whelms the new-born state."

I know not whether it is necessary to remark, in this place, what the critical reader will probably have alrea-

dy observed, that the celebrated English poet, Mr. Pope, has proved himself a notorious plagiarist, by copying

the preceding ideas, and even couplets, almost entire, into his famous poem, called the *Dunciad*. I will conclude by intreating the public may be acquainted, that several other extracts from these curious manuscripts will be published, should the preceding specimen meet with the applause which I am confident it merits. The blessings of paper money and confusion, as now experienced in Rhode Island, are predicted in the most awful and beautiful manner. The vision then extends to Connecticut, where we shall leave it, unless a future opportunity of resuming the subject, should render a further disclosure expedient.

Newhaven, October 23, 1786.



NUMBER II.

Extracts from the Anarchiad, on paper money.

THE subject of paper money forms so beautiful an episode in the *Anarchiad*, that it would be unpardonable not to make extracts from it. All the episodes ought to have some reference to the promotion of the principal action, as the underplots, in a regular drama, should conspire to the development of the main plot. Such

is the superlative advantage of this very poetical digression. For it will scarcely be denied, in any part of the united states, that paper money, in an unfunded and depreciating condition, is happily calculated to introduce the long expected scenes of misrule, dishonesty, and perdition. On this point, the citizens of the union must be considered as competent judges, because they are inhabitants of the only country under heaven, where paper (of that predicament) is, by compulsory laws, made of equal value with gold and silver.

The society of critics and antiquarians who have spared neither expense nor trouble, in recovering those valuable remains of antiquity from oblivion, cannot help flattering themselves that their disinterested labours will be rewarded with the plaudits of a grateful public. They only think it necessary to engage, on their part, that nothing shall appear, sanctioned by them, unfavourable to freedom, literature, or morality.

It is to be remarked that the following speech is addressed, by the old anarch, to a council of war, consisting of his compeers, his general officers and counsellors of state.

Hail, fav'rite state ! whose nursing fathers prove
Their fairest claim to my paternal love !
Call'd from the deck, with pop'lar votes elate,
The mighty * jacktar guides the helm of state :
Nurs'd on the waves, in blust'ring tempests bred,
His heart of marble, and his brains of lead,
My foes subdued, while knav'ry wins the day,
He rules the senate with inglorious sway,
Proud, for one year, my orders to perform,
Sails in the whirlwind, and enjoys the storm.

Yet not alone the per'lous watch he keeps ;
His mate, great +O--n, bustles while he sleeps ;
There †G--d--n stands, his head with quibbles fill'd,
His tongue in lies, his hand in forg'ry skill'd ;
To him, my darling knave, my lore I teach,
Which he to C--s lends in many a pompous speech.

Oh rogery ! their being's end and aim,
Fraud, tendry, paper-bills, whate'er thy name ;
That medium hill, which prompts th' eternal figh,
By which great villains flourish, small ones die.
Plant of infernal seed, without hell's heat,
Say in what mortal foil thou deign'st to cheat ?
Fair from the general court's unpardon'd sin,
Ap'st thou the gold, Peruvian mines within ?

NOTES.

* Gov. C--s. + Lt. gov. O. † Goodwin.

Wak'd to new life, by my creative pow'r,
The pres' thy mint, and dunghill rags thy ore.
Where grow'st thou not? if vain the villain's toil,
We ought to blame the culture, not the soil;
Fix'd to that isle, it no where passes free,
But, fled from congress, C——s, dwells with thee.

Hail realm of rogues, renown'd for fraud and guile,
All hail, ye knav'ries of yon little isle,
There prowls the rascal, cloth'd with legal pow'r,
To snare the orphan, and the poor devour;
The crafty knave his creditor besets,
And, advertising paper, pays his debts:
Bankrupts their creditors with rage pursue,
No flop—no mercy—from the debtor crew.
Arm'd with new tests, the licens'd villain, bold,
Presents his bills, and robs them of their gold;
Their ears, though rogues and counterfeiters lose,
No legal robber fears the gallows-noose.

Look thro' the state, th' unhallow'd ground appears
A den of dragons, and a cave for bears,
A nest of vipers mix'd with adders foul,
The screeching night-bird and the greater owl.
For now unrighteousness, a deluge wide,
Pours round the land an overwhelming tide;
And dark injustice, wrapp'd in paper sheets,
Rolls a dread torrent through the wasted streets.
While nets of law th' unwary fry draw in
To damning deeds, and scarce they know they sin.
New paper struck, new tests, new tenders made,
Insult mankind, and help the thriving trade.
Each weekly print, new lists of cheats proclaims,
Proud to enroll their knav'ries and their names;
The wiser race, the snares of law to shun,
Like Lot from Sodom, from R—I ran.



NUMBER III.

*Extract from the Anarchiad,**Book XXIII.*

BOW low, ye heav'ns, and all ye lands draw near!
The voice prophetic of great Anarch hear!
From eastern climes, by light and order driv'n,
To me, by fate, this western world was giv'n;
My standard rear'd, the realm imperial rules,
The last asylum for my knaves and fools.
Here shall my belt and brightest empire rise,
Wild riot reign, and discord greet the skies.
Awake, my chosen sons, in folly brave,
Stab independence, dance o'er freedom's grave;
Sing choral songs, while conqu'ring mobs advance,
And blot the debts to Holland, Spain, and France;
Till ruin come, with fire and sword and blood,
And men shall ask, where your republics stood?
Thrice happy race! how blest are discord's heirs!
Blest while they know what anarchy is theirs;
Blest while they feel, to them alone 'tis giv'n
To know no sov'reign, neither law nor heav'n.
From all mankind by traits peculiar known,
By frauds and lies distinguish'd for mine own.

Wonder of worlds! like which to mortal eyes,
None e'er have risen, and none e'er shall rise!

Lo, the poor Briton, who, corrupted, sold,
Sees God in courts, or hears him chink in gold,
Whose foul proud empire oft has taught to stray,
Far as the western world and gates of day;
Tho' plagu'd with debts, with rage of conquest curst,
In rags and tender acts he puts no trufl;
But in the public weal, his own forgets,
Finds heav'n for him who pays the nation's debts;
A heav'n like London his fond fancy makes
Of nectar'd porter and ambrofial steaks.

Not so, Columbia, shall thy sons be known,
To prize the public weal above their own;
In faith and justice leaft, as last in birth,
Their race shall grow a by-word through the earth:
Long skil'd to act the hypocritic part,
Grace on the brow, and knav'ry at the heart,
Perform their frauds with sanctimonious air,
Despise good works, and balance sins by pray'r,
Fortwear the public debt, the public caufe,
Cheat heav'n with forms, and earth with tender laws,
And leave the empire, at its lateft groan,
To work salvation out by faith alone.

Behold the reign of anarchy begun,
And half the busines of confusion done,
From hell's dark caverns, discord sounds alarms,
Blows her loud trump, and calls my Shays to arms;
O'er half the land the desp'rate riot runs,
And madd'ning mobs affume their rusty guns,
From councils feeble, bolder faction grows,
The daring corsairs, and the savage foes;
O'er western wilds the tawny bands, ally'd,
Insult the states of weaknes and of pride;
Once-friendly realms, unpaid each gen'rous loan,
Wait to divide, and share them for their own.

Now sinks the public mind; a deathlike sleep
O'er all the torpid limbs begins to creep;
By dull degrees, decays the vital heat,
The blood forgets to flow, the pulfe to beat,
The pow'rs of life, in mimic death withdrawn,
Clos'd the fix'd eyes with one expiring yawn;
Expos'd in state to wait the fun'ral hour,
Lie the pale relics of departed pow'r,
While conscience harrowing up their souls with dread,
Their gholl of empire stalks without a head.

No more stands forth to check the rising feud,
Their great defender of the public good.
Reuir'd, in vain his sighs their fate deplore;
He hears, unmov'd, the distant tempest roar:
No more to save a realm dread Greene appears,
Their fecond hope, prime object of my fears:
Far in the south, from his pale body riv'n,
The deathful angel wings his foul to heav'n.

Here shall I reign, unbounded and alone,
Nor men, nor demons shake my baseless throne;
Till comes the day—but late oh may it spring—
When their tumultuous mobs shall ask a king;
A king in wrath shall heav'n, vindictive, send,
And my confusions and my empire end."

With arms where bick'ring fires innum'rous shine,
 Like the torn surface of the midnight brine ;
 In sun-bright robes, that dazzled as he trod,
 The stature, motion, armour of a god,
 Great HESPER rose ; the guardian of the clime—
 O'er shadowy cliffs he stretch'd his arm sublime,
 And check'd the Anarch old—“ Malicious fiend,
 Eternal curses on thy head descend !
 Heav'n's darling purpose can thy madness mar,
 To glut thy eyes with ruin, death and war !
 I know thee, Anarch, in thy cheerless plight,
 Thou eldest son of Erebus and Night !
 Yes, bend on me thy brows of hideous scowl,
 Roll thy wild eye-balls, like the day-struck owl ;
 In Zion blow the trump, resound it far,
 Fire the red beacons of intestine war ;
 The jealous breasts inflame ; set hell at work,
 And crown the labours of E—s B—ke :
 Yet know for this, thyself to penance call'd,
 Thy troops in terrors, their proud hearts appall'd,
 Ev'n Shays, that moment when eternal night
 Rolls dark'ning shadows o'er his clofing fight,
 Shall feel, 'twere better on a plank to lie,
 Where surging billows kisst the angry sky ;
 'Twere better thro' a furnace fiery red,
 With naked feet on burning coals to tread ;
 Than point his sword, with parricidious hand,
 Against the bosom of his native land.

“ Where is the spirit of bold freedom fled ?
 Dead are my warriors, all my sages dead ?
 Is there—Columbia bending o'er her grave—
 No eye to pity, and no arm to save ?

“ Sister of Freedom, heav'n's imperial child,
 Serenely stern, beneficently mild,
 Blest Independence, rouse my sons to fame,
 Inspire their bosoms with thy sacred flame !
 Teach, ere too late, their blood-bought rights to prize,
 Bid other GREENES and WASHINGTONS arise !
 Teach those who suffer'd for their country's good,
 Who strove for freedom, and who toil'd in blood,
 Once more in arms to make the glorious stand,
 And bravely die, or save their natal land.

“ Yes, they shall rise, terrific in their rage,
 And crush the factions of the faithless age ;
 Bid Law again exalt' impartial scale,
 And Public Justice o'er her foes prevail :
 Restore the reign of order and of right,
 And drive thee, howling, to the shades of night.”

They ended parle, and both for fight address'd,
 On Anarch's helm a comet blaz'd his crest,
 Infernal arms the shadowy demon steel'd,
 And half the Andes form'd his ample shield,
 Thro' parting clouds high gleam'd his deathful spear,
 And shudd'ring earth proclaim'd the onset near—
 Unmov'd, great Hesper drew th' immortal sword,
 And rush'd in vengeance—

The society of critics and antiquaries cannot sufficiently express their regret upon finding the sequel of this description so much defaced that they

are not able to decide the issue of this we have reason to conjecture, that astonishing conflict. The fragments the combat ended with some disad-
sill legible are truly sublime. And vantage to the old Anarch.



*A morning hymn—By his excellency William Liv-
ingston, esq. governor of New Jersey.*

FROM night, from silence, and from death,
Or death's own form, mysterious sleep,
I wake to life, to light, and health ;
Thus me doth Israel's watchman keep.

Sacred to H I M, in grateful praise,
Be this devoted, tranquil hour ;
While him, supremely good and great
With rapt'rous homage I adore.

What music breaks from yonder cope ?
The plamy songster's artless lay ;
Melodious tongsters, nature-taught !
That, warbling, hail the dawning day.

Shall man be mute, while instinct sings ?
Nor human breast with transport rise ?
O for an universal hymn,
To join th' orchestra of the skies !

See yon' resplendent lamp of day,
With unabating glory crown'd,
Rejoicing in his giant strength,
To run his daily destined round.

So may I still perform thy will,
Great Sun of nature and of grace !
Nor wander, devious, from thy law ;
Nor faint in my appointed race.

What charms display th' unfolding flow'rs ?
How beauteous glows th' enamel'd mead ?
More beauteous still the heaven-wrought robe
Of purest white and fac'd with red.

The sun exhales the pearly dews,
Those brilliant sky-shed tears, that mourn
His nightly loss ; till from earth's cheek
They're kiss'd away, by pitying morn.

For lipp'd mankind what friendly tears,
Bent on our weal, did angels shed ?
Bound, bound, our hearts, to think those tears
Made frustrate all, when J E S U S bled !

Arabia wafts from yonder grove
Delicious odours in the gale ;
And with her breeze-borne fragrance greets
Each circumjacent hill and dale.

As incense may my morning song,
A sweetly-smelling favour rise,
Perfum'd with Gillead's precious balm,
To make it grateful to the skies.

And when from death's long sleep I wake,
To nature's renovating day,
Clothe me with thy own righteousness,
And in thy likeness, Lord, array.



*The existence of a Deity—Written by the rev.
Joseph Lathrop, A. M.*

WHEN I lift up my wond'ring eyes,
And view the grand and spacious skies,
"There is a God!" my thoughts exclaim,
Who built this vast, stupendous frame.

The sun by day with glorious light,
The moon with softer rays by night,
Each rolling planet, glowing star,
Wisdom and pow'r divine declare.

The lightning's blaze, the thunder's roar,
The clouds, which watry blessings pour,
The winter's frost, the summer's heat,
This pleasing, awful truth repeat.

The forest and the grassy mead,
Where wild beasts roam, or tame ones feed,
Corn, springing from the lifeless clod,
Confirms the agency of God.

My body form'd with nicest art,
My heaving lungs, and beating heart,
My limbs, obsequious to my will,
Shew forth my maker's pow'r and skill.

The various passions of the mind,
The pow'rs of reason more refin'd,
Bold fancy's flight, each lively sense
Prove a supreme intelligence.

A God so great and always near,
Shall be the object of my fear;
His goodness, wisdom, truth, and love,
Shall my best passions ever move.

My care shall be, his sacred will
To understand and to fulfil:
His service shall my life employ,
His favour is my highest joy.



*The genius of America—An ode: inscribed to his
excellency George Washington, esq. on his re-
turn to Mount Vernon, December, 1783.*

THINE all the fame that war belows;
All that peace can give, be thine;
Far expell'd thy country's foes,
Olives with thy laurels twine!
Now the work of death is o'er,
Pale-eyed danger quits our shore;

Sheathe the sword, unbrace the drum ;
 See the great deliverer come ;
 Wake, my bards, your choral lay,
 Hallow this auspicious day,
 And hail, as freedom's joyful ardours burn,
 In glory and in peace, my Washington's return !

Thus from yonder fleecy cloud,
 Streak'd with many a bright'ning ray,
 Lifts her grateful voice aloud,
 The genius of America.

Smiles adorn her native bloom,
 Graceful plays her snow-white plume ;
 Waving gently o'er her head,
 See the flarry banner spread ;
 A golden sickle decks her side,
 Her hand a volume open'd wide ;
 While at her feet, her useleſs quiver flung,
 Her arrows all unbarb'd, her mighty bow unstrung.

Exalt, she cries, the plausive strait,
 To all my heroes, great and free ;
 And chief of the illusrious train,
 Immortal Washington ! to thee,

You heard the trumpet's hostile sound ;
 You saw the meditated wound ;
 And as became the wife and brave,
 Arose your country's rights to save ;
 Your bosoms throb'd with new alarms ;
 Instant you sprang to glorious arms,
 By danger undismay'd, unaw'd by death,
 On freedom's sacred fane, to hang the laurel wreath.

Fair freedom smiles—the work is done—
 The laurel wreath adorns her fane—
 By me, she greets my Washington,
 And pays this consecrated strain ;
 Nor thou refuse the hallow'd lay,
 Thy country's genius still shall pay ;
 For not alone th' ensanguin'd field,
 Rich harvests of renown shall yield,
 But, pleas'd, beside thy calm retreat,
 The civic virtues fix their seat,
 While tho' thy groves, and o'er thy crystal springs
 Contentment still shall smile, and honour wave her wings.

There frequent shall the great and good,
 Who made, like thee, mankind their care,
 Who tyranny, like thee, withstood,
 Their happy spirits bid repair ;
 There lages, heroes, patriots old,
 Shall frequent sacred converse hold,
 Of arts, to grace the rescu'd land
 Of arms, and thy unconquer'd band ;
 There oft thy ravish'd eye shall see
 The victim of Thermopylae ;
 And there the chiefs of Marathon's fam'd field,
 Where freedom's dauntless sons bade flav'ry's millions yield.

There too the Decii's awful forms
 Shall glow, with former ardours fir'd,
 For whom e'en death itself had charms,
 When their lov'd Rome their lives requir'd ;
 There the great Fabius, pleas'd, shall see,
 His glories bloom again in thee ;
 There Cincinnatus joy to lead
 Thy step along the tranquil mead,
 And, all thy arduous labours pass'd,
 Bid thee the rural pleasures taste,
 Bid thy dread sword a pruning hook appear,
 And to a peaceful share, transform thy light'ning spear.

Methinks, e'en now, I view his smiles,
 To see thy brave companions claim
 The chief reward of all their toils,
 Distinction from his honour'd name,
 And, laid their warlike weapons by,
 Again to rustic arts apply.
 In contrast strong, there the stern shade
 Of Brutus, lifts the reeking blade ;
 The name of friend no more avails ;
 With unrelenting soul he hails
 The bold assertors of his country's cause,
 Lo ! Cæsar prostrate lies, who trampled on the laws.

From where Helvetia's mountains rise,
 Her Telle shall gratulations bear ;
 For, fled from soft Hesperian skies
 Fair Freedom fix'd her dwelling there ;
 From Belgium, long-contested land,
 The Nassaus come, a shining band :
 For thee with fond officious care
 A victor's wreath, their hands prepare ;
 Like thee, the rage of pow'r they dar'd,
 Like thee, their gen'rous breasts they bar'd,
 Like thee, assertèd Freedom's equal reign,
 Threw off a tyrant's yoke, and broke bale Slav'ry's chain.

E'en from Albion's far-fam'd isle
 A virtuous few shall glad repair ;
 There venerable Locke shall smile,
 And Hampden love to visit there ;
 There Sidney hold the free debate,
 And Russel glory in his fate :
 Immortal spirits ! vain the aim
 Of sycophants to blast your fame,
 Vain all their deep malignant rage,
 Tho' it has blotted Learning's page ;
 Vain their base arts to prop a tott'ring throne,
 Their despot's right divine, their " *millions made for one.*"

But who are those that hither hast
 Along the bright ethereal plain,
 With honest wounds each bosom grac'd ?
 They are my sons in battle slain.
 More than human seem their forms :
 Redoubled ardour Warren warms ;
 Mercer points to fields afar,
 Where first roll'd back the waves of war ;

His laurels brave Montgom'ry shews,
Blooming amid Canadian snows,
And, leading on to thee, the glorious train
"Exult, exult," they cry, "we have not bled in vain."

What transports swell each gen'rous breast,
What glorious prospects meet their eyes,
In these fair regions of the west,
While they behold an empire rise!
See Industry extend her reign,
And clothe with harvests ev'ry plain:
See Commerce spread her swelling sail
On ev'ry tide, to ev'ry gale;
See Science light her morning ray,
And lead on intellectual day—
See Justice rear her adamantine throne,
And valour still protect what Washington has won.

Hail, patriot hero! meet compeer
Of all the worthies hov'ring round:
Whose plaudits soothe thy raptur'd ear
With more than music's sweetest sound.
Yet not such bliss can they bestow,
As thou, my darling son, shall know,
While thou behold'st these happy lands
Deriving blessings from thy hands;
The joy supreme of giving joy,
Thy conscious breast shall still supply;
While realms, which freedom from thy virtues prove,
Shall add, to Fame's loud praise, a grateful people's love.



Character of St. Tamany—from an address delivered by Mr. W. Prichard, at a meeting, for the celebration of that saint's anniversary, May 1, 1786.

IMMORTAL Tamany, of Indian race,
Great in the field and foremost in the chase!
No puny faint was he, with fawning pale,
He climb'd the mountain and he swept the vale,
Rush'd thro' the torrent with unequal'd might;
Your ancient saints would tremble at the sight,
Caught the swift boar, and swifter deer with ease,
And work'd a thousand miracles like these.
To public views he added private ends,
And lov'd his country most, and next his friends;
With courage long he strove to ward the blow,
(Courage we all respect ev'n in a foe.)
And when each effort he in vain had tried,
Kindled the flame in which he bravely died!
To Tamany let the full horn go round,
His fame let every honest tongue resound!
With him let ev'ry gen'rous patriot vie,
To live in freedom or with honour die.

Foreign intelligence.

Stockholm, September 26.

THE decisive epoch of the entrance of the Danish troops on the Swedish territories, took place yesterday. Three thousand troops of Denmark passed the boundaries of Sweden. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the war is commenced; since, if we except the arrival of these forces, there has not been the least act of hostility between the two kingdoms; nor can any Swedish subject complain of having suffered.

Göteborg, Oct. 25.

An express arrived yesterday from the court of Copenhagen, with orders for the prince of Hesse to retire with all his troops, out of the Swedish territories.

Paris, October 20.

It is said that several thousand Prussians are gone into Stralsund and other garrisons of Pomerania, to relieve the Swedish troops, which are going over to Sweden, now invaded by the Danes, as the king of Prussia is resolved to support his kinsman, the king of Sweden.

Nov. 9. On Thursday last the assembly of the notables took place at Versailles; and on Friday the six committees proceeded to business.

On Sunday last the deputies of states of Provence, which had not been convoked till last year, for an interval of 147 years, had an audience of the king.

London, October 11.

By advices from Vienna we are informed, that general field marshal Laudohn took Novi on the 18th, and Gradisca on the 25th of September. This has given animation to the army in Croatia, who are now forming designs against Banjaluka.

The surrender of Choczim remains no longer a doubt,

These events will make the prince of Saxe Cobourgh master of Moldavia.

It is reported in the city, that in the late battle between the Austrians and the Turks, in the Bannat, the former lost 15,000 men, and the latter 10,000; and that the Turks remained masters of the field.

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Oct. 29. A messenger has been dispatched to Berlin, with the cabinet decision of this week. Peace or war now hang equal in the political scale. All depends on the conduct of the king of Prussia.

On Sunday evening, Basilico, the British messenger, arrived from Berlin, with dispatches for our court: the important information has since transpired, that the king of Prussia had marched 12,000 troops into the Duchy of Holstein; and that these are shortly to be joined by 10,000 Hanoverians.

This morning two houses of rendezvous were opened in Whitechapel, for the entering sailors into his majesty's service.

Nov. 11. Thursday morning early his majesty's disorder appeared to have taken a new turn, with very unfavourable symptoms; with some exceptionable intervals, his majesty rested rather composedly till toward the morning, but was afterwards much worse.

Sunday morning his majesty's disorder returned with alarming violence, and the most fatal effects are apprehended from the crisis.

All is sorrow and dreadful apprehension at Windsor; not a trumpet permitted to sound, nor a drum to beat; but the unhappy signals mournfully expected.

Nov. 13. We are extremely sorry to inform our readers, that the very favourable symptoms, which for some days past had given such pleasing hopes of his majesty's speedy recovery, have since changed into appearances that furnish no small ground for alarm.

If the king should continue a few days longer in his present situation, a regency will, it is said, be appointed, at the head of which will be his royal highness the prince of Wales.

It has been endeavoured, for obvious reasons, at Windsor Castle, to conceal the real nature of the king's disorder. Those reasons can exist no longer; for it is with the utmost concern we must declare, that his majesty is deemed irrecoverable.

On the 20th of last month the Polish diet unanimously resolved to augment their army up to 100,000 men.

Advice is received in Norway, that 12,000 Danish troops, commanded by the prince of Hesse, had arrived with M

in twelve miles of Gothenburg, with intention to invest that place. That the Prussian minister at the court of Denmark had declared, that unless the Danish troops should be withdrawn from Sweden, the king his master would immediately march 30,000 men into Denmark. In consequence of this declaration, the king of Denmark had ordered his troops to quit the Swedish territory by the 15th inst.

American intelligence.

Savannah, (Georgia) November 20.

Three negroes, we are informed, were killed, one day last week, at Mr. Walhour's plantation in Liberty county, and some carried off from thence, by Indians, supposed to be those known by the name of Siminolies.

Augusta, November 21.

We are informed that the Creek Indians have taken a fort and twelve prisoners, and killed 108 persons, on the frontiers of the state of Franklin. This account is very alarming to the frontiers of Georgia, and, without immediate assistance, a great part of the inhabitants will seek refuge in the different states.

New York, Jan. 8.

The following resolution was agreed to in a committee of the whole house, at Albany, on the 22d ultimo, viz.

Resolved, as the opinion of this committee, that a committee be appointed to prepare a draft of an application of the legislature of this state to congress, requesting them, as early as possible, to call a convention, for proposing amendments to the constitution of the united states.

Providence, Jan. 3.

The general assembly of this state, now sitting, have again negatived the proposal for calling a state convention.

Philadelphia, January 22.

A gentleman in this city has just received a letter from his correspondent in New York, by which we learn, that a vessel which left London the 21st of November, arrived a few days since at Boston, and brought an account of the death of George the third.

Jan. 23. The German society of New York, at their general meeting on the 7th instant, patriotically and unanimously resolved, that it ought to be the object of every member to unite in giving encouragement to American manufactures, in preference to those of other countries. This society, influenced by the noblest spirit of patriotism, will undoubtedly pursue every measure calculated to carry this valuable purpose into effect; and there is every reason to hope, that the acknowledged industry of the Germans, and their constancy and perseverance in accomplishing systems, which they once adopt, will surmount every obstacle, which fashion or caprice may throw in the way. It may be presumed (at least it is fervently hoped) that their laudable example will soon be followed, not only by all the other national societies, but by all the Americans, as the most efficacious method to promote the interest of our country, to secure its independence, and to prevent foreign nations from flourishing by our weak and wicked attachment to their fashions and luxuries.

Jan. 24. On Monday the 5th inst. a conference was held between the senate and assembly of the state of New York, on the amendments proposed to the bill for putting the new constitution into operation. After debating the matter a whole day, the assembly resolved they would not agree to the amendments—and the senate resolved that they would not recede. In consequence of which, the bill was lost. New York, therefore, will have no agency in the choice of those important officers, the president and vice-president; nor will she be represented in that body, where her most important interests will be at stake, the senate of the united states.

The new year was ushered in at the borough of Wilmington, in Delaware, by an exhibition, though less splendid, yet, perhaps more patriotic than any that has taken place since the late revolution. At a meeting of a number of the principal citizen, in and about said borough, held on the first of January, 1788, an agreement was entered into, to meet at the academy, on that day twelve months, clad in complete suits of A-

merican manufacture. The meeting was held accordingly—many persons appeared—and a satisfactory specimen was displayed of the abilities of this country to assert her absolute independence, respecting foreign manufactures of wearing apparel. All the dresses were warm, and many elegant, and such as would do credit to old manufacturing countries; the industry, skill, and fancy exhibited in spinning the materials, and mixing the colours of the several articles of dress, as well as in making them up, are an additional proof of the domestic virtues and the patriotic spirit of the fair daughters of America. And we can offer to their country-women throughout the continent no better new-year's

wish, than that they, as well as their husbands and brothers, may emulate the example of the borough of Wilmington. From calculations made at the meeting, it appears that home-made cloth comes considerably lower than such as is imported, of the same quality.

Jan. 25. We learn from New York, that the sum already subscribed, for the building intended for the accommodation of the new congress, amounts to nine thousand pounds. The room for the senate is nearly completed. The whole building will cost near fifteen thousand pounds, and will be one hundred and fifty feet long.

*** *Intelligence omitted in this number shall be inserted in our next.*

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